

The book approaches education and the science of education (Ger. *Pädagogik*) from two perspectives: philosophical and historical. The philosophical perspectives (the first part of the book) explore key philosophical influences underlying the notion of *Pädagogik*. Questions are raised about the status of philosophy of education, and of *Pädagogik* as a field of study. The nature and scope of their contributions in academic workplaces are critically reviewed. Concerning the historical perspectives (the second part of the book), these explore key historical moments in the development of *Pädagogik* as a scientific and academic discipline in individual countries of Central, Southern and South-Eastern Europe, based on the original German tradition.

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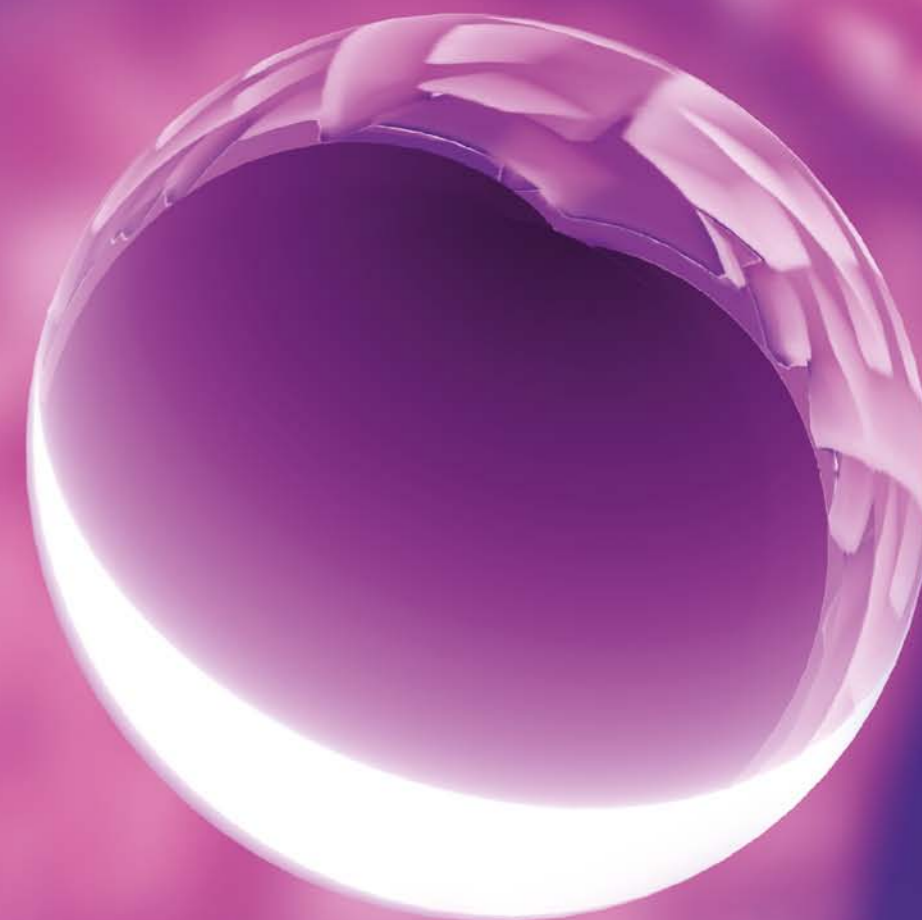


Education and "Pädagogik"

Philosophical and Historical Reflections

Editors

Blanka Kudláčová
Andrej Rajský





**Blanka Kudláčová
Andrej Rajský
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To our friend Professor Giuseppe Mari
(21.11.1965 – 14.11.2018)

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Terminology note

1. **“Pädagogik” (Ger.)** – a scientific and academic discipline, its origins are found at a German pedagogue J. F. Herbart
2. **Pedagogy (Engl.)** – a discipline that deals with theory and practice of teaching (Ger. Bildungstheorie, Didaktik)
3. **Educational Sciences (Educology)** – Erziehungswissenschaften (Ger.)
4. **Educational Theory** – a theory of the purpose, application and interpretation of education and learning
5. **Education** – Bildung (Ger.)
6. **Education** – Erziehung (Ger.)
7. **Education** – Bildung and Erziehung (Ger.)
8. **History of Education** – Geschichte der Erziehung (Ger.)
9. **Chair of “Pädagogik”** – Lehrstuhl für Pädagogik (Ger.) – a field tied to professorship in pedagogy, which may have been initially linked with professorship in theology, philosophy or aesthetics; originated throughout the 19th century. In the 20th century, the German notion Lehrstuhl für Pädagogik used to denote also departments of pedagogy
10. **Pedagogical Seminar** – Pädagogisches Seminar (Ger.) – associated with professorship in pedagogy, in connection with which a seminar may have been or did not have to be established; its aim was practical – training of secondary school teachers; the concept originated in the second half of the 19th century
11. **Department of “Pädagogik”** – Department of “Pädagogik”, Institut für Pädagogik (Ger.) – departments or institutes of pedagogy, originated in the first half of the 20th century; they are a result of the development and enhancement of professorships of pedagogy, they get emancipated by separation from professorships of theology, philosophy or aesthetics and gain an independent professorship of pedagogy. At the same time, the professorships of pedagogy expand in newly targeted professorships, focused foremost on experimental pedagogy, e.g. in the Czech lands, Germany

Introduction

Blanka Kudláčová and Andrej Rajský

The objective of this book is a philosophical and historical reflection of education and science of education (Ger. *Pädagogik*) as an academic as well as scientific discipline. The publication is the result of a several-years-long collaboration of philosophers of education and historians of education from the countries of the Central, Southern and South-Eastern Europe. The majority of the countries cover the territory of the former Austria-Hungary, or the countries neighbouring this territory.

Modern *Pädagogik* in continental Europe has been influenced by the German *Pädagogik*, which is apparent in individual chapters in the second part of the publication. Its fundamental concepts were shaped in the period of the Enlightenment and neo-humanism. The etymology shows that the term is derived from the Greek words *pais* – boy, girl, child and *agōgē* – to lead. Similar terms can be found in other European languages, too: *paedagogia* (Latin), *pédagogie* (French), *pedagogia* (Portuguese, Spanish), *pedagogia* (Italian), *pedagógia* (Hungarian), *pedagogika* (Bulgarian, Czech, Polish, Russian, Slovak, Slovenian), *pedagogie* (Dutch, Romanian), *pedagogija* (Croatian, Bosnian, Serbian, Macedonian), *pædagogik* (Danish), *pedagogik* (Swedish), *pedagogiikka* (Finnish), *pedagogikk* (Norwegian), etc.

The horizon of the Greek *paideia* was significantly broader than the scope of present-day *Pädagogik*. The term *paideia* was related to developmental issues for humans that included their entire life – from birth to death. *Paideia*, according to Heidegger, does not have an equivalent in modern language. *Paideia* is not the modern education of a human that seeks to transmit knowledge; it is rather a movement inside of a human, a turnover that can be better expressed by the Platonic term *metanoia*. In this sense, according to Pelcová (2010, p. 45), “*paideia* is the care for soul – *epimeleia peri tés psychés*, what keeps a human being in contact with the truth of being, with the idea”.

Modern times bring up the idea of the “educability” of a child and their ability to learn; consequently, *Pädagogik* is accordingly shaped as a practical educational art of parents and teachers. However, from the European Enlightenment onwards, this practical activity needed to rely on rationally justified reasons; it needed to establish the finality of its own theses scientifically. *Pädagogik* sought for its own reasoning in philosophical and theological anthropology. Therefore, it was carried out as applied logic and applied ethics at first (late 1700s), i.e. as coordination of the discipline of reason and discipline of will. This theoretically informed practice gave rise to a triangular model of educational disciplines (Ger. *pädagogische Disziplinen*). Within this discipline anthropology answered the question of who a human is, educational teleology determined what a human should

become and educational methodology connected these two moments. The triangular model was adopted and developed by an author who is considered the founder of *Pädagogik* as a modern science, Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841). Herbartian *Pädagogik* dealt with educational epistemology for the first time. This however remained at the level of “applied metaphysics” – including ethics, which provided *Pädagogik* with scientific objectives, as well as psychology, which provided *Pädagogik* with operative means. But both deduced their principles directly from metaphysical anthropology. All in all, Herbartian theory of education represented a new paradigm, thanks to which it was possible to speak of *Pädagogik* as of a field of cognition that tries to understand its own scientific identity.

The shaping of *Pädagogik* in individual European countries occurred in different ways throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, reflecting their different paths to national identity. But despite the specific development of individual nations and their cultures, several fundamental joint elements in the field of *Pädagogik* can be observed. These include the following: the significant influence of the German tradition; the profiling of the so-called basic educational disciplines (see further on); the establishment of similar models of university-based teacher training; the establishment of a similar type of academic and scientific institutions; the establishment of similar types of schools for elementary and secondary education. *Pädagogik* was gradually shaped as an autonomous scholarly discipline, which started to find its place within university education in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Already in the first half of the 19th century, so-called chairs of *Pädagogik* (Ger. *Lehrstuhl für Pädagogik*), which were still a part of the departments of philosophy, started to be inaugurated. Independent pedagogical seminars¹ (small departments, Ger. *Pädagogisches Seminar*) started to be established later. These were transformed to departments of education (Ger. *Department Pädagogik* or *Institut für Pädagogik*) throughout the 20th century. In the last third of the 19th century, Herbartianism was gradually pushed aside by Positivism and subsequently also by American progressivism and pragmatism. Together with a newly emergent experimental *Pädagogik*, these developments created a space for a broader educational discussion. The turn of the 20th century also witnessed the advent of a reform of pedagogy movement that placed

¹ *Pedagogical seminars* were associated with professorship in pedagogy, in connection with which a seminar may have been or did not have to be established; its aim was practical – the training of secondary school teachers; the concept originated in the second half of the 19th century.

the accent on the child. Unfortunately, in the first half of the 20th century, the rise of fascism and nationalism in Europe meant that *Pädagogik* and education in several countries got into ideological bondage.

In spite of the fact that the theoretical position of Herbart and his followers found critics and opponents from many sides, up to the end of the 1960s the scientific status of *Allgemeine Pädagogik* (General Pedagogy) was not fundamentally questioned. *Pädagogik* was gradually structured into constituent educational disciplines, namely: General *Pädagogik* (Ger. *Allgemeine Pädagogik*), Theory of Education (Ger. *Theorie der Erziehung*), Pedagogy/Didactics (Ger. *Bildungstheorie, Didaktik*) and History of Education (Ger. *Geschichte der Erziehung*). However, some turbulence for the discipline occurred with a new ascendancy of empirical educational sciences during the 1960s (Fr. *sciences de l'éducation*, Ger. *Erziehungswissenschaften*). In 1966, the French minister of education appointed a group of educational research specialists (Maurice Debesse, Gaston Mialaret and Paul Fraisse and others) to elaborate a project of creation of courses of teacher training leading to master's degree at universities. Members of the group used the term "educational sciences" because they wanted to emphasise the scientific dimension of studies, aiming at an identification of *Pädagogik* (*pédagogie* in French) with empirical sciences. In 1985, a well-known book by Gaston Mialaret and others educators was published with the title *Introduction to Educational Sciences (Introduction aux sciences de l'éducation)*.²

Representatives of the new conception of educational sciences rejected the then prevailing monopoly of humanistic spiritual-scientific *Pädagogik* and subjected it to dramatic criticism (cf. Winkler, 1994, but also Brezinka, 1971). The attacks on this "queen of educational sciences" had two prongs. Firstly, it was charged that General *Pädagogik* originated from a need to provide some academic training to teachers in the 19th century. Secondly, it was alleged that a "general" subject of *Pädagogik* does not exist (cf. Stepkowski, 2010, pp. 143–146).

The first critical camp pointed out that academic General *Pädagogik* was devised as a practical course of teacher training at a time of institutionalisation of education in the state system of schooling. It was argued

² Authors define education as an applied art that attempts to use scientific approaches. This collection of articles presents the European viewpoint, in which scholars consider key elements in the study of educational issues and concerns. Articles include: (1) The Philosophy of Education (O. Reboul); (2) The History of Education (A. Leon); (3) Educational Sociology (G. Mialaret; V. Isambert-Jamati); (4) Educational Demography (G. Mialaret; P. Clerc); (5) Educational Economics (F. Orivel); (6) Educational Planning (S. Lourie); (7) Educational Administration (L. Tiburcio); and (8) Comparative Education (Le Thanh Khoi).

that its purpose was "disciplinarianisation" of teachers' training in order to ensure continuity of the system. General *Pädagogik*, on this account, had a textbook character, not a scientific one. It represented a complex of "educational dogmas". The second camp of criticism of General *Pädagogik* accused it of: uselessness (decline in scientific outcomes of this discipline); non-functionality (no direct connection to educational practice); outdatedness (as a result of the decline of speculative sciences) and insubstantiality (it loses its legitimacy with the rise of educational science).

General *Pädagogik* is even at present often perceived as an obstacle to the development of rationalised education, within which education and formation must be guided by the principle of functionality and effectiveness (e.g. Scheerens, 2000). A strong pressure for technologisation of education, teaching and instruction comes particularly from people with a technicist outlook. General *Pädagogik*, together with its reflexive role, loses any apparent meaning. Educational technology, productive and reproductive practice, take its place (Cambi et al., 2009, p. 19). However, as several contemporary educational researchers have pointed out (Benner, Heim, Prange, Baroni, Bellingeri, Brezinka, Mari, Kilian, Henz, Ruschke-Rhein, Stępkowski, and others) General *Pädagogik* is still irreplaceable as metatheory of educational science, a sort of "framework theory", whose tasks are manifold. These tasks include: to usher to educational thinking; to grasp and interpret main educational concepts; to provide theoretical resources to *Pädagogik* as a science; to connect research outcomes of educational sciences with educational practice. Scholars who thus defend General *Pädagogik* see in the criticisms the rejection of a more fundamental understanding of education; a rejection that actually represents an abandonment of the scientific status of educational research. This academic dispute has far-reaching implications for any serious understanding of education. It is an instance moreover of a fruitful discourse through which European continental *Pädagogik* deepens and enriches scientific educational thinking itself. In this book, mainly in its first part, Philosophical Reflections on Education, several similar fronts of argumentation are opened.

The authors of this book encountered several terminological differences in key educational concepts used in continental traditions, central European tradition in particular and apparently similar concepts in English. An emblematic example is the concept pedagogy itself. Even though the English term "pedagogy" is very similar to the German term *Pädagogik*, using them interchangeably causes confusion, since the term "pedagogy" is significantly narrower in content. Since there is no English equivalent of the term *Pädagogik* in the sense of a scientific and academic discipline, we

decided to keep the term in the original version – i.e. untranslated. Another problem is to find an equivalent for the German notion *Erziehungswissenschaften*. In this case, we decided to use the phrase *educational sciences*, which can be found in specialised literature written by continental authors. Also, there occurred a problem with a distinction between the German *Bildung* and *Erziehung* and the corresponding theories *Bildungstheorie* or *Didaktik* and *Theorie der Erziehung*. These distinctions do not have real counterparts in English terminology. Both words are regularly translated as *Education*, or *Theory of Education*. In case of a need to distinguish their meaning in the text, the authors use the original German versions in italics. In view of incompatibilities in the continental (German) educational tradition and Anglophone traditions, a brief Terminology note is provided at the beginning of the book.

The research perspectives provided in the various contributions in the book help to fill gaps in understanding that arise from contrasting historical paths taken by European countries in recent times. In the second half of the 20th century, Europe was divided by the Iron Curtain into two parts, not only territorially but also mentally. Communication among philosophers, scientific and academic professionals was frozen for several decades. After the Second World War, communism, which was already well-established in the countries of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, was implemented into life of the countries of the Eastern Europe too. Together with it, a conception of socialistic *Pädagogik* and a model of unified education came to be implemented in these countries. In the western part of Europe, where postmodern thinking made advances from the 1970s onwards, *Pädagogik* started to lose its philosophical moorings and traditional pattern became unsettled. It can be stated in any case that both Western and Eastern European countries experienced strong ruptures in the continuity of educational thinking. This was, however, caused by different factors. In the countries of Western Europe, these ruptures were induced by an evolving postmodern thinking. In the 1960s, the subject and methodology of history of education were questioned by general historians. According to them, the overly optimistic narratives of modernism did not provide answers to serious dilemmas and problems in education in Eastern Europe in the period of the onset of postmodern thinking. It may be claimed that it was a natural developmental crisis. According to Rajský, “the paradigm of postmodernism shook and questioned the scientific status of history as such, placed theoreticians of history in front of a mirror: they were forced to reflect on the question of their own meaning, re-configure their own beliefs, purify themselves from submission to the persisting narratives and

emancipate themselves from the established schemes of interpretation" (Rajský, 2014, p. 17). A similar statement can be found in the researches of Iggers, according to whom "the postmodern critics have correctly pointed out the ideological premises that were present in the dominant discourse of professional historical scholarship. However, rejection of the possibility of any rational discourse and questioning of the notion of historical truth and thus, historical untruth, resulted into throwing the baby out with the bathwater" (Iggers, 2002, p. 22). In contrast to the Western countries, in the countries of the Eastern Europe, political and ideological influences were the strongest factors. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in the 1990s, we can speak of the loss of continuity in the field of historical-educational research and in philosophical reflection on education in both parts of Europe. At issue here is the loss of the sense of continuity – in thought, in moral life, in ethical traditions, in historical experience – that constitutes any particular civilisation (cf. Kudláčová and Rajský, 2012). Continuity carries the risk of homogenisation, totalisation and exclusivity; however, it also represents a necessary condition for an adequate perception of the past and future, for responsibility for cultural and other inheritances, for consistent work, for building and development. Without the presupposition of continuity, *Pädagogik* and education, perceived either as a science or art, would not be possible.

Under the influence of rising globalisation at the end of the 20th century, two traditions, "two worlds" of educational thinking, represented by sometimes conflicting terminologies, started to come into contact. This contact opens several questions: e.g. the problem of *Pädagogik* as a scientific discipline, the problem of educational terminology, the problem of investigating the phenomenon of education itself, the problem of undergraduate teacher training, its focus and content structure, etc. This new contact, or "encountering", however, may lead to a clearer definition of identity of both traditions of educational thinking. It can encourage a sustained dialogue between them and consequently, their mutual enrichment. It can contribute to a better understanding of humankind itself and its educational possibilities.

The book approaches education from two kinds of perspectives: philosophical and historical. The philosophical perspectives, contained in the first part of the book, explore key philosophical influences underlying the notion of *Pädagogik*, and also the later notion of *Erziehungswissenschaften* (educational sciences). Questions are raised about the status of philosophy of education, and of *Pädagogik* as a field of study. The nature and scope of their contributions in academic workplaces are critically reviewed.

Concerning the historical perspectives in the second part of the book, these explore key historical moments in the development of *Pädagogik* as a scientific and academic discipline in individual countries of Central, Southern and South-Eastern Europe. By combining philosophical and historical reflections on continental *Pädagogik*, we attempted to overcome the fragmentation and limitations of using only a single discipline: so-called disciplinarism. The book goes beyond the horizon of regionalism and creates a more inclusive picture of the development of present-day *Pädagogik* in the countries examined.

It seems that in the countries of Central, Southern and South-Eastern Europe, *Pädagogik*, based on the original German tradition, has still a relatively large amount of similar features. It can be observed that problems of a similar character arise in educational theory and practice even at present. This is evident from themes and discussions pursued at international conferences in a number of countries in recent years (e.g. in Maribor 2010, 2012 and 2015; in Prague 2012, 2018; in Smolenice 2010, 2013 and 2016; in Lodz 2012 and 2014; in Belgrade 2014; in Liberec 2013 and 2015; in Warsaw 2016 and 2018, in Sarajevo 2018).

In conclusion, we would like to thank all the authors, with whom we maintained a lively contact throughout the preparation of the book and gradually shaped its final form. We would also like to thank Dr. Pádraig Hogan from Ireland for a careful reading of the manuscript and comments that helped to improve clarity and quality of the text. We believe that the book will represent an enrichment in the field of continental *Pädagogik*, shedding new light on its foundations and development. We also see it as a valuable opportunity for entering a dialogue with the representatives of the educational research community in Anglophone countries.

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1. PHILOSOPHICAL REFLECTIONS OF EDUCATION

1.1 Conceptualization of Philosophy of Education

1.1.1 What Is Philosophy of Education?

Zdenko Kodelja

There are different and often conflicting answers to the question of what the philosophy of education is. This plurality of answers is mostly seen as a necessary consequence of the simple fact that philosophers of education belong to “different and incompatible philosophical traditions” (Carr, 2005, p. 1). But despite a number of different and even opposing answers, there is no doubt that at least some important authors think that philosophy of education is – or should be – understood as a special branch of philosophy.¹ Moreover, it is stated that in the sixties “the philosophy of education has been steadily establishing itself in Britain as a branch of philosophy” (Peters, 1973, p. 1). However, many eminent philosophers of education would reject the interpretation that philosophy of education is a branch of philosophy.² In spite of this, a key question remains: what is philosophy of education, if it is not a branch of philosophy? On the other hand, this question is open even when philosophy of education is defined as a branch of philosophy. For, in this case philosophy of education can be understood in two ways. Firstly, as a branch of philosophy which does not “exist apart from established branches of philosophy such as epistemology, ethics, and philosophy of mind” (ibid., p. 2).³ Secondly, it can be treated as a “philosophy of a specific domain”, that is, in a similar manner to philosophy of law, political philosophy, philosophy of science, philosophy of religion, etc. At first glance, such an interpretation of philosophy of education seems to be obvious. However, it involves certain difficulties. For instance, if philosophy of education is a branch of philosophy, then the question arises as to why it is almost never taught in philosophy departments. It is, in fact – unlike other standard “branches of philosophy”, that is, ethics,

1 Among them are, for instance, internationally renowned philosophers Olivier Reboul (1971, p. 5) and Richard S. Peters (1973, p. 1).

2 According to Pádraig Hogan’s reviewing remarks to this paper, such interpretation has been accepted and defended in Britain mainly in the context of the analytical philosophy of education, but “it does not describe the work of a post-analytic generation of philosophers of education whose work has characteristically engaged with practical educational issues and also with educational research more widely”.

3 Philosophy of education rather “draws on such established branches of philosophy and brings them together in ways which are relevant to educational issues. In this respect it is very much like political philosophy” (Peters, 1973, p. 2).

epistemology, social philosophy and so on – “usually taught in schools or departments of education” (Noddings, 1995, p. 1).⁴ The absence of philosophy of education from the list of courses offered by the great majority of philosophy departments can be seen as proof that philosophy of education – for many academic philosophers – does not count as a real branch of philosophy. In addition, although philosophers of education are supposed to study education and its problems “from a philosophical perspective” (ibid., p. 2), a lot of them are not philosophers by profession. Since they did not study philosophy, they have neither been formally trained nor have they “acquired competence in one or more areas such as epistemology, metaphysics, moral philosophy, logic, philosophy of science, and the like” (Phillips and Siegel, 2015). Nevertheless, many of them understand and present themselves as philosophers of education. On the one hand, there are two kinds of self-identified philosophers. First are those who can be named “philosophers of education” only in the “loose but common sense” of the term, in which any individual who “cogitates in any manner about issues such as the meaning of life, the nature of social justice, the relationship to Divinity, ... the aims of education, the foundations of the school curriculum” and so on, is thereby a philosopher (ibid.). Second are those like “educational theorists or researchers”, whose works about education – in which they “explicitly raise philosophical issues or adopt philosophical modes of argumentation” – demonstrate that they deserve to be recognized as philosophers of education (ibid.). Some of them are actually internationally acknowledged as excellent philosophers of education.

On the other hand are the officially recognized philosophers of education, that is to say, persons who studied philosophy of education in those countries and universities where such a study exists in schools or departments of education. At the beginning, their teachers were “pure” philosophers; today, teachers who carry the title “professor of philosophy of education” or “professor of education” prevail. However, the problem is – if philosophy of education is or should be conceived as a branch of philosophy – that many of them “have the goal (reinforced by their institutional affiliation with schools of education and their involvement in the initial training of teachers) of contributing not to philosophy but to educa-

4 However, in the sixties, philosophy of education in Britain “is beginning to appear as an option studied in philosophy departments as well as one of the main disciplines contributing to educational theory which is studied in education departments” (Peters, 1973, p. 1). Later it has been taught in some education departments, but also “systematically excluded from initial teacher education and much reduced in masters level programmes under the current funding regimes” (Oancea and Bridges, 2009, pp. 553–568).

tional policy and practice. This shapes not only their selection of topics, but also the manner in which the discussion is pursued. This orientation also explains why philosophers of education – to a far greater degree than “pure” philosophers – “publish not primarily in philosophy journals but in a wide range of professionally-oriented” educational journals (ibid). These are some problems which are closely related to the definition of philosophy of education as a branch of philosophy.

These difficulties remain also when in British philosophy of education a similar but slightly more specific definition is usually used, namely, that philosophy of education is a “branch of applied philosophy”. In other words, philosophy of education is “a form of applied philosophy” (White, 1995, p. 216), that is to say, a “field ... where basic branches of philosophy have application” (Peters, 1966, pp. 18–19). Understood in such a way, philosophy of education is nothing more than the application of ethics, political philosophy, epistemology, etc., to educational issues and problems. However, these interpretations of philosophy of education are not without certain difficulties. They have been the object of criticism, as David Cooper argues, not only because they “presuppose a problematic distinction between the philosophy which is applied and what it is applied to, but, more problematically still”, they suggest “a one-way relationship, as though it is both necessary and possible first to sort out one’s philosophical ideas and only then apply them” (Haydon, 1998, p. xiv; Cooper, 1998, pp. 23–25). This critique confirms that contemporary British philosophy of education has been conceived as a branch of applied philosophy. At the beginning, when it became a distinctive academic discipline, it was established as an application of analytic philosophy which is primarily “concerned with clarification of the concepts and propositions”, and “interested in answering questions about the meaning of terms and expressions”. This means that genuine “philosophical questions are not about, say, particular facts or moral judgements but about what we mean by facts, what we mean by moral judgements” (Hirst, 1974, pp. 1–2). It is no surprise, then, to find that subsequently also philosophy of education at that time defined itself as a discipline which is, above all, “concerned with elucidating the meanings of basic educational concepts” (Carr, 2005, p. 2). Later on, analytical philosophy of education was severely attacked by a number of philosophers of education with an allegiance to different “philosophical traditions as varied as Marxism, phenomenology, neopragmatism, hermeneutics, neo-Aristotelianism, critical theory and postmodernism” (ibid., pp. 4–5). Among the philosophers who had a major impact on the development of the post-analytic philosophy of education were Adorno, Habermas, MacIntyre, Rorty, Gadamer, Heidegger, Foucault,

Derrida, Lyotard and so on. As a result, philosophy of education is becoming more and more a field where these and some other philosophies have application. Therefore, the application of different philosophical traditions has challenged the analytic philosophy of education but at the same time has confirmed its interpretation of philosophy of education as applied philosophy. However, this interpretation cannot be acceptable for those philosophers of education who do not understand the philosophy of education as a kind of applied philosophy or as a special branch of philosophy.

Philosophy of education is nowadays conceived in a similar way in some countries of continental Europe as well. However, the term "philosophy of education" is or was also used as a synonym for two things: firstly, for one of the educational sciences, and secondly, for one of the interpretations of that traditional academic discipline whose name has the same meaning and etymological origin in several languages: *Pädagogik*, pedagogika, pedagogija, pedagogia, pédagogie and the like. These words refer to the specific autonomous philosophic or scientific discipline which is usually taught as an academic discipline at universities. In English-speaking countries it is quite different. Although the English term "pedagogy" has the same Greek origin as the previously mentioned words in some languages, it means something else: "the theory of the methods and principles of teaching" (Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary, 1993, p. 1058), or "a science of teaching embodying both curriculum and methodology" (Lawton and Gordon, 1996, p. 167). Despite this important difference in the meanings of the words, some authors, even in some prominent French and Italian specialized dictionaries of education and philosophy (Dictionnaire encyclopédique de l'éducation et de la formation, 1981, p. 726; Lalande, 1988, p. 749; Abbagnano, 1993, p. 654), translate these words in English as "pedagogy". But such translations are problematic and lead to terminological confusion. The same problems arise with the use of the term "pedagogics".⁵ At first glance, it seems that it would be more appropriate to use other terms which refer to those theories of education that better correspond to the German concept of *Pädagogik*. According to Wolfgang Brezinka, such theories are in the United States "usually called 'foundations of education' and in Great Britain 'educational theory'" (Brezinka, 1992, pp. 3–4). But the problem is that, in contrast to the German word *Pädagogik*, none of

⁵ This term – which also means "the science or art of teaching" (*The Living Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language*, 1975, p. 698) – was used for translating the German term *Pädagogik* in the English translation of the book: W. Brezinka, *Metatheorie der Erziehung. Eine Einführung in die Grundlagen der Erziehungswissenschaft, der Philosophie der Erziehung und der Praktischen Pädagogik* (Brezinka, 1992).

these English terms refer to the theory of education. These theories “are not scientific theories, but rather ‘theories of practical activities’ or ... practical theories. Their purpose is ‘in practical judgements’ to determine ‘what ought to be and what ought not to be done in educational practice’” (ibid., p. 4). For this reason, some authors and translators use the term “educology”, which designates “the theory of education” (ibid., p. 1), when translating the German word *Pädagogik* into English.

After this short terminological explanation, we can turn back to the discussion about the relationship between *Pädagogik* (pedagogics, educology) on the one hand and philosophy of education on the other. As is known, there are different interpretations of it. Brezinka, for instance, argues that *Pädagogik* as a theory of education includes three different kinds of theories of education: scientific, philosophical and practical. In his opinion, therefore, philosophy of education is a constitutive part of *Pädagogik* (ibid., p. 35). This interpretation differs from the one according to which *Pädagogik* is “philosophical science” (Giraldi, 1972, p. 5),⁶ or in other words, it is the same as philosophy of education (Enciklopedijski rječnik pedagogije, 1963, p. 252). But identifying *Pädagogik* with philosophy or philosophy of education was perhaps at least to a certain extent justified when traditional *Pädagogik* was so closely associated with philosophy that it was defined as “applied philosophy”. Today, when *Pädagogik* is defined as an autonomous science, such identification seems to be wrong, although it is sometimes difficult to make a clear distinction between philosophy and science. One of the consequences of the separation of *Pädagogik* as a science from philosophy is also the fact that nowadays the distinction between philosophy of education and philosophical *Pädagogik* has been almost totally forgotten. Philosophy of education was identified as one of the disciplines of *Pädagogik* which does not presuppose its dependence on philosophy, although it includes such topics which are closely related to philosophy (a man as a subject of education, the aim and purpose of education, the problem of values in education, the relationship between education and culture, freedom and discipline, etc.). On the other hand, philosophical *Pädagogik* was defined in opposition to philosophy of education, namely, as a *Pädagogik* which is based on philosophy (Pedagogijski leksikon, 1939, p. 94). In any case, what is important for clarifying the discussed problem is that both philosophy of education and philosophical *Pädagogik* were understood as *Pädagogik* and not as philosophy.

⁶ Moreover, Otto Willmann even went so far, says Brezinka, as to identify “scientific pedagogics” with “philosophical pedagogics” (Brezinka, 1992, p. 37).

Similar to the way in which philosophy of education is, in this context, defined as one of the disciplines of *Pädagogik*, philosophy of education is today, when *Pädagogik* is only one of the contemporary educational sciences, sometimes identified as one of the educational sciences (Mialaret, 1976, pp. 82–84). In both cases, when philosophy of education is either one of the disciplines of *Pädagogik* or one of the educational sciences, it is, therefore, not what it is supposed to be: a branch of philosophy. However, there is a different interpretation of the relationship between *Pädagogik*, educational sciences and philosophy of education as well. According to this different interpretation, these disciplines are not on the same level of reflection and have different objects of study: education and its problems are the object of educational sciences (psychology, sociology, anthropology, history and so on), educational sciences are the object of general *Pädagogik*, and general *Pädagogik* is the object of philosophy of education (Cambi, 2001, p. 7). Philosophy of education is in this context understood not as a philosophical theory but rather as a theory of the theory of education, that is, as something similar to what Brezinka calls "meta-educology" or "meta-pedagogics".

This means that philosophers of education need to know not only a lot about philosophy – otherwise philosophy of education would be nothing more than the false name for something that is not at all philosophy – but also about *Pädagogik* and its problems. However, we should not overlook that philosophy of education, as the French philosopher Olivier Reboul emphasizes, is not so much a corpus of knowledge, but rather a questioning – a questioning in the sense that it brings into question over and over again all that we know, or believe that we know, about education (Reboul, 1995, p. 3). For example, we have to ask questions over and over again about concepts such as "freedom", "authority", "punishment", "indoctrination" and "education"; then about the aims of education and why it is reasonable that we try to achieve them; about the value, meaning and the limits of the arguments and knowledge produced by pedagogy and educational sciences; about what knowledge and skills are worth learning at school and why; as well as about ethical and epistemological questions such as "Can virtue be taught?", and if it can be, "Which virtue should be taught and why?"; "Who will decide?"; as well as "What can be known?" and "How do we know what we know?" and so on. Without this kind of perpetual questioning, we can quickly become prisoners of various dogmatisms and ideologies while philosophy of education would be reduced to the history of the philosophical ideas about education. Viewed from this perspective, philosophy of education is not the same as the history of philosophical ideas about education;

it is not just a kind of collection of what the great philosophers have said about education. Of course, it is necessary and very useful to know what Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Locke, Kant and others wrote or said on this topic, but this is not enough. It is not sufficient for two main reasons. Firstly, for the reason that several texts written by great philosophers on education are not at all their most important works. Kant, for instance, is not an important philosopher for philosophy of education simply because of his lectures on education which were published after his death. We can even say that quite a few of his other works – such as *Critique of Practical Reason*, *Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals*, *The Conflict of the Faculties* and *An Answer to the Question: “What is Enlightenment?”* – are more important for philosophy of education than his book titled: *On Education (Über Pädagogik)*. The same can be said for two of “Locke’s major philosophical writings – the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and the *Letter on Toleration*” – which “have been, as Harvey Siegel emphasizes, overlooked by most educational theorists over the centuries, even though they have enormous relevance for educational philosophy, theory, policy, and practice” (Phillips and Siegel, 2015). Secondly, it is not enough to know what the great philosophers said about education because Kant himself warned that “Philosophy – unless it be in an historical manner – cannot be learned”; and that we “can at most learn to philosophize”, that is “exercise our powers of reasoning in accordance with general principles, retaining at the same time, the right of investigating the sources of these principles, of testing, and even of rejecting them” (Kant, 1998, p. 694).⁷

Therefore, if we want philosophy of education to become a real branch of philosophy, then we have to learn not only philosophy from great philosophers and to philosophize, but also to – in the same way, paradoxically – emancipate ourselves from the direct guidance of great philosophers and, as Kant requires, “have courage to use” our “own understanding”, or in other words: “*Sapere aude!*” (Kant, 2009, p. 1). Moreover, it seems to me that this conclusion might be acceptable also for those philosophers of education who do not agree with the thesis that philosophy of education should become a branch of philosophy.

⁷ The distinction is between the “learn philosophy” (Philosophie lernen) and “learn to philosophize” (philosophieren lernen), I. Kant, *Nachricht von der Einrichtung seiner Vorlesungen in dem Winterhalbjahr von 1765 bis 1766*, in: Kant, 1968, vol. 2, p. 908].

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1.1.2 Reflection and Action in Anglophone Philosophy of Education: Challenges and Inspirations

Rafał Godoń

This chapter explores recent Anglophone versions of philosophical reflection in education from a perspective that is Continental European; but it is not its intention to contribute to any divisions or tensions between different ways of pursuing philosophical reflection itself. It is still all too often said that Continental styles of thinking on education substantially differ from those originating in the English-speaking world. Despite the efforts to bridge the gap between analytic and Continental in philosophy of education, undertaken among others by Michael Peters (cf. Peters, 2004, pp. 104–106), it seems to me that there is still a strong tendency in contemporary educational theory to compare, juxtapose and rank two differing approaches.

The situation raises some doubts and questions. What is really at stake in emphasising divisions between Anglo-analytic and Continental style philosophising? How does the divide influence the way the Anglophone philosophy of education is perceived in other linguistic cultures? Although I take questions concerning the divide seriously, I am rather interested in this chapter in illuminating what the division reveals about the current condition of philosophy of education in European cultures. In other words, I devote the body of this chapter to attempting to trace what the divide means for philosophical research in education and for understanding its domain.

In the following passages, I discuss the argument that *what is really characteristic of Anglophone philosophy of education is its view of the relationship between reflection on the one hand and action on the other*. This does not mean that I cannot see any interest in such a topic in other cultures. I rather reflect on Anglophone philosophy of education, hoping that it may be quite helpful in building intercultural understanding instead of accentuating division.

Variety of philosophies

It would be a misunderstanding to create a monolithic or uniform picture of Anglophone philosophy of education. It is not a homogeneous disci-

pline. It consists of various approaches and conceptions, sometimes even rival ones (cf. Standish, 2007), showing evidence of a plurality of voices in philosophical discourse on education. A good exercise in this matter is to read a program of a conference held by one of the leading research societies in the field: among others, the Philosophy of Education Society (USA) or the Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain. A plethora of different topics and approaches is evident today in such conferences. Quite the same can be said of publications in journals in the field, among others, *Journal of Philosophy of Education* (UK), or *Educational Theory* (USA). We can find in such journal articles written from very different approaches and clearly there is no taxonomy readily encapsulate all of them (cf. Hogan, 2010a, p. 9). Nevertheless, in the next passages I will discuss different tendencies in recent Anglophone philosophy of education and then select research approaches applied in the field.

Main disciplinary tendencies

There are two different tendencies in recent Anglophone philosophy of education that merge and together influence the character of academic discourse. These are as follows: (1) a tendency to *self-reflect* that requires a *narrative disposition* on the part of educationalists who philosophically focus on education; and (2) a tendency to control the area of philosophical research on education by *institutional tools* that ensure room in academia for research development of the discipline.

A *narrative disposition* in the philosophical field signifies a pronounced tendency to reflect on the way that the whole process of thinking is arranged and carried out, as well as the ability to criticize and change one's own position in understanding and self-understanding (cf. Ricoeur, 1991, pp. 425–437). Philosophy of education, like any other field of philosophical reflection, cannot avoid self-directed questions if it is to do justice to its domain (cf. Carr, 1995, pp. 18–25). Thus, self-reflection becomes one of the most important features of philosophy of education. Researchers engaged in philosophy of education have to be able to analyze their own approach in a critical and insightful style.

The term 'to philosophize' conveys mainly the ability to look back on both domains: on the research field as well as on the personal experience of the researcher. This means that thinking on education in a philosophical style is a complex endeavor that requires proficiency in knowledge as well as readiness to scrutinize one's own situation. A narrative disposition in a scholar

involves his/her intellectual and existential abilities to build and present a story of research (cf. Pring, 2000, pp. 31–56). It also requires from the researcher awareness that an opposing or contrasting argument to one's own might yet have sustainable claims to truth (cf. Hogan, 1995, p. 136).

Furthermore, the philosophical researcher in education needs to be able to experiment with language so that the presentation of his/her understanding of pedagogical actions will be intellectually attractive and convincing. In other words, he/she needs to practice 'thinking creatively' (Smith, 1992, pp. 72–90). The researcher, on this account, is an unusual user of language who is aware of the richness of linguistic legacies and of the communicative possibilities that language gives. Finally, he/she should be able to draw and discuss some conclusions from his/her research for educational theorists and practitioners alike (cf. Winch & Gingell, 2004).

The other tendency in the recent Anglophone philosophy of education, that is to control the area of philosophical research on education, pertains to the formal and institutional framework of the discipline, necessary if it is to serve society in an efficient way. As Thomas Samuel Kuhn (2001) noticed, a research discipline needs to have at its disposal some tools to prove its social and academic status. To control the research area of social life, researchers need to establish some institutional instruments like journals, organizations, committees, etc. Thus, the philosophy of education became firmly established as a discipline when it launched journals, departments and research networks devoted to its domain. The history of institutions in philosophy of education in the English-speaking world is well presented and discussed in literature (Kaminsky, 1993; Johnson, 1995).

Both tendencies in recent Anglophone philosophy of education are equally important. The first tendency, namely the disposition toward self-reflection – is open for new possibilities and unexpected meanings of educational experience, while the other, control, aims at stability in the field of education. 'Self-reflection' reveals a personal character of philosophizing; 'control' embraces these features of philosophizing in education that are crucial for establishing and for the functioning of an academic discipline. Although they seem to be different, they complement each other very well. The ability to reflect in a narrative style supports the discipline in revising its status and in strengthening responsiveness to current dilemmas of the field; the ability to control regulates the everyday operation of different bodies of the discipline and helps valuable individual enquiries in the field to become sustained. Having discussed two notable characteristics of Anglophone philosophy of education, I will offer now to differentiate between the main approaches to philosophical research on education.

Research approaches in recent Anglophone philosophy of education

Reading the recent literature on Anglophone philosophy of education, one can broadly discern a distinction between two contrasting approaches: between *cognition-oriented* and *practice-oriented* approaches. I have already presented elsewhere details concerning the two approaches (Godoñ, 2012, pp. 123–170). For the sake of outlining my argument in this chapter, I just sketch the main features of both orientations.

Each of the two approaches is dominated by procedures that have a substantial impact on the quality of research practice (cf. Carr, 2003, p. 15). The *cognition-oriented* approach is organized by a strategy that emphasizes the *cognitive* value of the research while the *practice-oriented* model concentrates on practical impact of philosophical research in education.

Cognition-oriented stances spring mainly from an idea of enquiry informed by scientific conceptions of truth-seeking. However, it should not be taken for granted that the main aim of this kind of research is to demonstrate how complex knowledge about the world is. Indeed, the procedures adopted in such a research approach are to support the researcher in proving that the domain being explored is rendered rationally clear and technically approachable. But there is, in such an approach, a kind of rationality that does not easily disclose educational experience and its significance, as distinct from disclosing observed behaviours and performances. I do not bring an accusation of Positivism here against researchers taking a cognition-oriented stance. But I think their style of doing philosophy of education may still show a bias in favor of physically demonstrable forms of evidence. As an examples of such an approach we can think of the work of Israel Scheffler and Richard S. Peters and their protagonists (cf. Godoñ, 2012, pp. 125–134). Although we may recognize a quantum leap in analytic orientation in philosophy of education (cf. McLaughlin, 2005, pp. 17–33), we should also note the special position of ‘methodological procedures in philosophy of education’ (Godoñ, 2012, p. 134) and that the idea of certainty still prevails in this philosophical orientation.

While research activity in cognition-oriented approaches is marked by modern scientific conceptions of evidence, or by ‘the spirit of modern science’ (Husserl, 1965, p. 151), the *raison d’être* of *practice-oriented* approaches is investigating *change* in educational practice. The emphasis on change means that philosophy of education is here disposed to support practitioners in a critical and reflective attitude toward dilemmas and problems that occur in everyday teaching and learning. What is characteristic of such

approaches is an attempt to form and develop such procedures that practitioners could utilize and eventually reach more adequate understandings of practice. Researchers in practice-oriented philosophy of education seek to influence the 'real' world and they are not satisfied with 'mere' understanding. There is a presumption here that the actual value of research is based on the impact of research: that it should address the problems that occur in educational practice. In practice-oriented approaches, philosophical reflection has to fulfil these kinds of expectations; otherwise it is not likely to be recognized as a valuable discipline of research.

There are different possibilities of adopting practice-oriented approaches to philosophical research in education. The concept of 'practical intersubjectivity' developed by Gert Biesta may serve here as an example (cf. Biesta, 2000; Godoń, 2012, pp. 148–154). This conception rightly stresses that the practical dimensions of education are crucial for understanding for education itself as a domain of research. It is equally necessary to point out that any 'practical intersubjectivity' standpoint must acknowledge the many ways in which the researcher himself/herself is engaged in the domain. This acknowledgement begins with a recognition that the standpoint of a detached critical observer is neither available nor appropriate.

In other words, it is vital in philosophical reflection on education to differentiate between: (a) a sense of the practical that is directly concerned with bringing about changes in educational practice and (b) a more dialectical understanding of practice; one which acknowledges an intricate interplay of influences where any changes in practice are concerned. It seems to me that for Biesta understanding is a matter of 'direct' interaction with reality rather than a dialectic process concerning meaning and its references (cf. Biesta, 2000; Godoń, 2012, p. 153; Ricoeur, 1991, p. 431).

The cognition-oriented approaches referred to in the previous section not only affect philosophical reflection at a conceptual level but also influence the understandings of education as a practice that come to prevail more widely, including understandings that inform educational research and educational policy. One historic consequence of this is the demise of ideals of liberal education that were the main educational legacy of Western antiquity (cf. Godoń & Hogan, 2014). Another consequence is that research activities are constrained to exclude insights, understandings that arise through the researcher's own involvement as a participant in the research process; as distinct, that is, from a controller of it. Philosophical reflection is itself intimately bound up with our understanding of human experience. Yet the constraints which research in a cognitive-scientific vein impose upon the researcher are inhospitable to a philosophical illumina-

tion of that experience, including its personal achievements and epiphanies.

This is one of the reasons why Edmund Husserl in 1935, in his 'Vienna Lecture', announced a crisis of European science, or 'Europe's sickness' (Husserl, 1965, p. 153). This lecture called attention to a decline in the condition of philosophy and to the impact of dualistic thinking on the way that social and individual identities are acquired. Autonomy in some meaningful degree is indispensable for human life if humans are to flourish. But autonomy is also necessary for all academic disciplines, in the sense of freedom to develop the most appropriate forms of enquiry, if they are to support humans in their development and understanding of the world.

Notwithstanding the points just considered, there remain some possibilities to renew forms of philosophical reflection on education, avoiding scientific research orthodoxies as much as those of politics, and empowering researchers to understand education as a particular domain of human experience. There is a variety of approaches that make use of these possibilities (cf. Pring, 2004, pp. 26–41; Smith, 2009; Hogan, 2010b, pp. 97–107; Bakhurst & Fairfield, 2016).

In Anglophone philosophy of education, one of the examples of such a recovery of educational theory is the project of 'postfoundationalism' that revisits the idea of thinking on education and that challenges the instrumental ways that teaching and learning are understood in the educational reform policies of most Western countries in recent decades (Blake et al., 1998). This is a good example of a situation where researchers in philosophy do not accept the constraints of a scientific research orthodoxy, and in fact probe fruitfully beyond it. In such enquiry, an attitude of openness prevails, together with a readiness to learn about other promising ways to imagine the educational field. Accordingly, thinking is again seriously practiced as an authentic way of being in the world.

Conclusions: challenges and inspirations

In this chapter, I have outlined some main tendencies and research orientations in contemporary Anglophone philosophy of education. There are of course other possibilities to understand the field and to draw another picture of what is currently practiced as philosophy of education in the English-speaking world. My aim here is not to synthesize the philosophical discourse on education or to give any final definition of that but to join again discussion on the field and to reflect on its main challenges and in-

spirations, particularly in the context of its international and intercultural impact.

The contrasting tendencies 'to self-reflect' and 'to control' show how complex Anglophone philosophy of education is. The current structure of the field, including these two tendencies, yields high standards for both aspects of philosophy of education: personal and institutional. As far as research approaches are concerned, what strikes here is the current inclusiveness of Anglophone philosophy of education. Notwithstanding the tendency 'to control', evident in many writings in the field, the variety of styles of philosophizing is sustained. It shows that although there are different ways of understanding what philosophy of education is, there is a strong pressure toward the inclusion of all philosophers willing to participate in the discourse.

In this context, the question of the difference or division between Continental and Anglo-analytic is not so important any longer. Obviously, the difference continues but what really matters is the way education is explored and perceived and not a matter of any claimed methodological superiority. The real challenge comes from dilemmas that arise in the many dimensions of educational practice.

If we are really to understand the pedagogical difficulties of teachers, learners and all other participants in educational activities, we should not exclude any opportunity for gaining thoughtful insights in the matter. Cultural or methodological frontiers need not be real barriers for understanding. The wise researcher meets methodological or cultural constraints constructively, approaching them as a challenge on the way to grasp the sense of educational experience. It is high time we overcame the dichotomy between analytic and Continental, as well as between reflection and action in educational experience. In this regard, it is salutary to find in the so-called Continental literature some examples of crossing cultural borders in contemporary philosophy of education (cf. Kudláčová & Sztobryn, 2011).

Perhaps the main lesson we may learn from visiting contemporary Anglophone philosophy of education is this. The style of doing philosophy of education can make a huge difference to the research domain and its possibilities. Education as a sphere of action is hardly recognized in its intricacy if it is researched in a restricted way. For example, limiting research on education to a cognitive-oriented style would result in disappearance of some philosophically insightful questions and in a state of affairs where 'non-technical, non-expert questions about the role of education in creating the good society are no longer asked' (Carr, 2003, p. 15). An emphasis on education as practice seems to be prominent in Anglophone philosophy

of education. Nevertheless there are frequent tendencies in understanding practice itself. As Carr puts it, practice can be understood in terms of ‘mundane technical expertise’ rather than as ‘a form of practical philosophy’ (ibid.).

Philosophy of education needs constantly to excise different styles of reflection where questions concerning its relationship with everyday pedagogical practice still abound. I am not sure how evident the need of such questions is in the practice of Anglophone philosophy of education. And I am not suggesting that all currents in Anglophone philosophy of education are taking education as practice seriously. But the topic of the dialectic relationship between reflection and action still prevails (cf. Dunne, 1995; Hogan, 2010a, 2010b). Impulses that come from ancient practical philosophy, particularly the significance of *phronesis* ‘practical wisdom’ for current styles of thinking on education, are crucial in this matter and can be supportive not only for academia and scholarly research activities but, what is equally important, for actions performed by teachers and educators in their everyday work with children and youths. But it is also important to include the current trends in philosophy of education from other cultures. If we ignore pedagogical cultures in other societies, we irrationally limit our possibilities to understand education as a coherent and unusually important field of human life. Pedagogical mission requires from educators the effort to understand and practice the best forms of teaching and learning. And as scholars we are particularly responsible for disseminating a European legacy which means conveying not ideological or practical prescriptions for teachers and educators, but supporting them in seeing and engaging with the world around in more complex and coherent ways. Learning about various ways of achieving such goals in other pedagogical cultures is not our privilege; it belongs, rather, to our primary responsibilities if we are really to work for the flourishing and educational well-being of our students.

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1.1.3 The Idea of Continental *Pädagogik*

Zvonimir Komar

Introduction: the structure of *Pädagogik*

This chapter does not take for granted the meaning of *Pädagogik*. Instead it will try to investigate the idea of *Pädagogik* critically. This investigation of an idea, or field of study, that provides the basis for professional educational outlooks and actions, is a necessary condition for both the theory and practices that are pursued under the name *Pädagogik* itself (Palekčić, 2015). Without this critical investigation, *Pädagogik*, including its purposes and its underlying presuppositions, may remain vulnerable to undetected ideological influences, thus compromising its claim to be a field of research and professional practice. In other words, *Pädagogik* continually needs to carry out the philosophical discipline of self-examination on the assumptions and presuppositions embodied in its own conduct. The approach taken here represents by no means a complete or even the only possible way to fundamentally think about this science. However, we hope to start the dialogue with some fundamental thinkers in this field, such as I. Kant, J. Fichte and J. Herbart, in order to make a few steps with and through them towards more complete developments of *Pädagogik* in the future.

We will begin the investigation by reflecting upon an initial claim that *Pädagogik* is necessarily a purposeful kind of theory and practice. It is usually pointed out that as a word, *Pädagogik* stems from the Greek word *paidagōgos*, which historically referred to slaves that took children to their teachers for education. However, the word *Pädagogik* can be examined on a deeper level in an attempt to conceive what kind of activity and being is implied in the logic of the word itself, apart from these historical connotations. Examining the word more closely one can see its two Greek parts – *pais* and *agein*; a pair of terms that function in a dialectical unity. *Pais* is usually translated as 'child' and *agein* is usually translated as 'leading'. The inner, logical unity and dialectic of *child* and *leading* is what creates the process of pedagogical becoming. The problematic thing that needs to be examined here is what do we actually mean when we say 'child'. The character of whole process is going to depend on this understanding. That's why *Pädagogik* needs to keep this question in open reflection. We cannot simply assume we know what the being of child is. If *pais* is under-

stood as a biological child, then all that is needed for successful “leading” of such child is letting nature take its course while not ruining the child’s biological and psychological development.

If *pais* is understood as a sociological category, then what’s implied is “child’s” lack of socialization and inculturation. In this context, we have an additional dimension of purpose in the “need” to become a part of culture and society. But what’s also lacking here is a questioning that goes beyond the positivistic idea of society as a fact and into the logic of production of cultures and societies. If society is understood as a natural category, as something that simply is, then we stand in such a relation to society that we cannot conceive its transformation. Transformation can only be thought of and practiced from a standpoint of being outside of what already is. *Pädagogik* that doesn’t want to be only a reproduction of what already is incorporates a questioning that discloses that cultures and societies could be other than they are. Such questioning transcends not only functionalism, but also interactionism and social constructivism. This reveals that the social and cultural aspects of *pais* (i.e. of *being* a child) can be other than what is currently provided by existing social norms and patterns. It also reveals that any standpoint which holds that inculturation and socialization are processes that are enough to achieve pedagogical purpose are reductive or ideological.

It may be asked why *pais* is not fully grasped by the biological and sociological dimensions, or for that matter by a psychological dimension in the sense of “psychological development”, “cognitive and emotional processes”, “neuroscience” and so on. The reason is that none of those perspectives are able to grasp the *full potentiality* of *pais* in its ontological dimension: the being of the child in his or her self. Grasping the fuller potentiality of *pais* becomes possible only through a fundamental shift in outlook; an ontological shift that reaches beneath and beyond the specific realities examined by the positive sciences. That is why *Pädagogik*, as that science which is concerned with the being of *pais*, necessarily has to be of philosophical character. Approaches to *pais* by the positive sciences by their inner logic comprehend only reduced, derived forms of *pais*.

The second term in the pair, namely *agein*, gives a more focused understanding of *pais* in *Pädagogik*. *Agein* shouldn’t be thought of here as something that comes to *pais* from the outside (that would be an instrumentalization of *pais*), but as something that *pais* itself inherently carries as its possibility. *Agein* is not a mere change or a mere movement. It implies a fundamental possibility of purposeful change of the *being of pais itself*, which is addressed and brought about through leadership. If we now

take what's been said together, we have the situation of something that inherently needs *agein* and therein needs purpose, which it still has not. The theories that illuminate such purposeful educational leadership and the practices that pursue it, together with this fundamental approach to *pais* as a dynamic ontology of human beings (being as becoming), can properly be regarded as constituting *Pädagogik*.

So, following the logic of *pais* and *agein* in dialectic of *Pädagogik*, we've found a couple of determinations. Firstly, we've come to understand *pais* as that which is in terms of its mere existence purposeless, while potentially being purposeful. The logic of purposeful becoming opens up the possibility of the process of self-becoming through *agein*. If this self-becoming is to be in accordance with open-ended autonomous practice (freedom), with nothing uncritically and heteronomously imported into it, then the approach of positive sciences is insufficient, because their starting point is always human being *already understood as something specific and concrete*. For example, human being as a worker, as a father, as a friend, as a music lover, etc. These are already self-produced positions which if taken as a *primary* source of self-becoming of *pais*, become alienations that eliminate the fundamental *possibility* of self-becoming, which is the practical essence of freedom. Self-becoming as self-production and freedom cannot start from the positive outlook of any already existent specific being.

Bildung* as the principle of *Pädagogik

Now that we have a basic outline of the inner logic of *Pädagogik*, we need to ask about the theoretical and practical ways to elucidate this logic. The principle that informs *Pädagogik*, adequately understood, is that of *Bildung*. The German word *Bildung*, however, mustn't be understood loosely as "education". Its precise meaning needs to be highlighted to show its true pedagogic character. '*Bild*' (Ger. image) means *idea, eidos, form, image* which constitutes the true being of man. In neo-humanism of late 18th and early 19th centuries, particularly in works of people such as W. von Humboldt or J. F. Herbart, the idea of *Bildung* took on a meaning where this internal image that formed man's true being was an image that resulted from practice of self-forming (Humboldt, 1982).

This self-forming character of *Bildung* is inspired by Immanuel Kant's opening up of the dialectic of subject-object with his relation of the categories of pure reason to the empirical world, where he argued that only the two together form experience (Kant, 1976). Kant's work doesn't

function in epistemological relation of separateness of subject and object of cognition, defined by striving for adequation of intellect and the thing itself (*adaequatio intellectus et rei*). Instead, Kant's philosophy positions the practical subject at the centre of his thought. Kant conceived this subject as freedom and *spontaneity* of will, while it was further explicated and developed in Fichte's foundation of his philosophical system in the speculative unity of subject-object, which was formulated in his principle of *Tathandlung* (Fichte, 1974). This principle meant that speculative unity of subject-object acts practically as both *self-setting* and *self-reflection* of this subject, where the *act* and *product* of *self-setting* are the result of one and the same act (*Tathandlung*). This constitutes the *practical* subject, which is fundamentally different from the *epistemological* subject in that it self-produces itself instead of striving for uniting of the fundamentally separated subject and object of thought in their epistemological (essentially theoretical) relation. In the same way, *Bildung* can't function as a property of something outside of the dialectics of subject-object seen as self-setting and *self-reflection*. When we take the idea of self-forming, it implicitly contains dialectics of subject-object explicated above. *Bildung* in this neo-humanistic and pedagogical context, seen as self-forming, is a pedagogical expression of subject-object dialectics. So what are the inner workings of *Bildung* in this classical sense? How does this self-forming in *Bildung* work?

At the root of *Bildung* and its *Bild* moment is the Greek '*idea*' or '*eidos*'. *Bildung* implies forming or self-forming towards (and possibly from) some '*Bild*', image (Hentig, 2008). Indeed, there is no formation and no determination, no concrete and *specific* 'what'-being of *being-of-man-per-se* without this idea of *Bild*. The context underlying the German notion of *Bildung* is that of Plato's philosophy and its expansion in Aristotle's philosophy, specifically in their presentations of *idea/eidos*. *Idea* in its classical meaning is not a concept or a construction. It is not a "subjective representation" either, since that would imply that being does not *reveal* itself to mind, but merely provokes always relative perceptions. Also, *idea* shouldn't be interpreted as a "term" for something in the sense of operationalized uniformity of machine language (Marcuse, 1989). "Terms" essentially constitute technical being, not dialectical being. What *idea* means could be translated as '*sight*' and this sight implies a possibility of sight of *being*. In this sense, *idea* is a character of being itself that manifests itself to a thinking mind through theoretical activity. At the same time, it is that which *enables* this activity. Aristotle points out that theory does not exist as something that is "formed" or "written" or existent outside of actuality of thinking (Aristotle, 1988). The actuality of thinking and theory in this classical sense is enabled

by the fact that *idea* as sight makes being visible. The essential character of all ideas, represented in Plato's idea of Good (idea of ideas, not a *particular* idea of some-thing) (Plato, 1942), is such that it identifies no *particular* being, but the essence of being in general: that which enables being as being. *Idea* is that which enables mind to see its objects, including *itself*. So, if *idea itself* is the general ability of sight of being, then the *concrete act* of this seeing is that which *determines* being, that which differentiates being into specific some-thing(s) and that which constitutes the ontic level of *particular* beings. *Idea* in this sense is the possibility of determination of being. This is how the general ability of self-forming gives itself *concrete* forms and content.

Further, in the context of *Bildung*, if particular (concrete) instances of forming are not to be arbitrary or accidental, then the content and quality of this "some-thing" through which specific determinations happen cannot be relativistic. This relativism is avoided by the idea of truth, which differentiates knowledge (*episteme*) from opinion (*doxa*). Like we've said, forming is possible through *idea* as sight of being. Sight that reveals being is called *aletheia*, or as we say 'truth', but more precisely, that Greek word would mean 'being-revealed'.¹ Since what's revealed through dialectical research is being in its particular determinations and since we don't deal with constructions of subjectivist mind here, these determinations of being in terms of concrete, dialectically revealed content are what enables the difference between knowledge and opinion. This is the way in which theoretical faculty guides *Bildung* as self-becoming from within. The character of revealed being keeps it fundamentally different from any kind of constructivism, post-modernist "knowledge as performance" or subjectivism. *Idea/eidos* is therefore necessary for the very *possibility* of thinking in strict sense, for the possibility of mind to see objects, for the constitution of both consciousness and self-consciousness and for self-forming. In the form of reflection, *idea* is determinant moment through which mind gives itself a concrete form. There is no *Bildung* without *Bild*, no self-determination without determinant moment of *idea*. *Idea* as *Bild* provides one structural part of the possibility of self-forming. Now we'll look at the other one, namely freedom. Both are able to exist only in their dialectical unity.

In exploring the notion of freedom, what needs to be explicated further now is the moment of *self-formation* in *Bildung*. We've already said that this formation through *Bildung* does not work as something from outside

¹ These arguments are to be found in Heidegger's later work, but I've come to these conclusions independently.

that is pressed onto the subject. On the contrary, this *determining* through idea, theory, thinking, is to be done by the very subject that is *being determined* on the object-side of things. The very same being is both subject and object of *Bildung* as self-formation. It is subject in the sense that it is its fundamental formlessness that in itself is potentiality of action. This (active) formlessness is *freedom*. Freedom in a fundamental sense is not merely freedom *from* something outside of self. Freedom is also not merely freedom of choice, since choice is choice between what is already existent (i.e. as “given” possibilities in positivistic sense). Freedom in the deepest sense is self-*production*. So, it’s not even appropriate to say that self has freedom or merely is free in the sense that freedom is an attribute of self, but that self in its deepest potential fundament is *freedom itself*. It is the very same thing that Herbart conceived in pedagogical context as *Bildsamkeit* – the possibility of *Bildung* (Herbart, 2015a). This possibility is enabled only by the fact that what can be formed is in itself alive, active, tense; a practical possibility of forming that at the same time necessarily has to be formed to achieve its being. This is essentially what Aristotle explicated in his way through relation of *causa materialis* and *causa formalis* (Aristotle, 1992). *Causa materialis* is the not-differentiated totality of possibility (*dynamis, potentia*). *Causa materialis* is pure possibility that is in itself formless and not differentiated, is *hypokeimenon*; that which can be predicated (through *causa formalis, eidos, idea*) and which through predication becomes something. But this something in the sense of *entelechy* does not exist outside of the unity of *causa materialis* and *causa formalis*. *Causa formalis* as differentiation of totality of possibility happens through a specified form (*eidos*), which constitutes being as actual being (*energeia, actus*). Substance of being is thereby inner wealth (*ousia*) of being in its span of the *causa materialis*–*causa formalis* relation. So, the substance is here constituted not as a static being, but as inner efflux of *ousia*, which is always dynamic.

In the same way, *Bildsamkeit* is the fundamental possibility of *Bildung*, but in itself is still mere potentiality, a kind of no-thing, even though it is not absolute non-being. This *Bildsamkeit*-as-freedom now needs its own active relation to that through which it is forming itself as its own object. This active relation is a theoretical and practical working with, and through, and by, idea, which work self-produces this freedom-*Bildsamkeit* into something that has form. Again, this form is not arbitrary, since idea as sight is always related to being and is not a mere construction. The dialectical union of freedom-idea, *Bildsamkeit*–*Bildung* is in this way adequate to the inner logic and dynamic of *Pädagogik* as *país-agein*.

Idea of man as becoming, reflected in pedagogical theory of purpose of education

What we see now from the above is that the inner logic of *Pädagogik* and inner logic of *Bildung* both have a dynamic, dialectical character. *Bildung* is neither *Bild/idea* nor *Bildsamkeit/freedom* in themselves in their abstraction. *Bildung* is dialectical unity of both. It is a kind of circling (or spiral ascent) of self-determination. If *Pädagogik* reflects itself as a science and if it sees *Bildung* as its principle and specific outlook, then it is also clear that *Pädagogik* is always concerned not with static being, but with becoming. This dynamic logic of becoming is also evident in the way in which J. F. Herbart articulates purpose of education. The structure of pedagogical purpose is also *twofold*, according to Herbart, and consists of *aims of choice and aims of morality*. Aims of choice are those that are "the *merely possible* aims which he [the pupil] might perhaps take up at one time or other" (Herbart, 2015b, p.109), while aims of morality are the "necessary aims which he would never pardon himself for having neglected" (Herbart, 2015b, p.109). This structure enables us to approach pupils in a way where regarding aims of choice we can start with the already existent, concrete pupil, with his/her own preoccupations and interests and thus create a real pedagogical relationship – for example starting with the pupil's love of chess, mathematics, literature, playing games or whatever else the case may be. On the other hand, in part where it comes to aims of morality, this structure is able to avoid relativism, because aims of morality cannot be left to choice of the pupil. When these two parts of educational aim are taken together, we have a synthesis of individual choice upon which activity and quality of pupil's will is developed, and those universal humanistic qualities that cannot be neglected. We will explicate these relations a bit further.

Aims of choice

How can the teacher assume for himself beforehand the merely possible future aims of the pupil? The objective of these aims as a matter of mere choice has absolutely no interest for the teacher. Only the Will of the future man himself, and consequently the sum of the claims which he, in, and with, this Will, will make on himself, is the object of the teacher's goodwill... Thus it is not a certain number of separate aims that hover before us now (for these we could not beforehand thoroughly know), but chiefly the activity of the growing man – the totality of his

inward unconditioned vitality and susceptibility. The greater this totality – the fuller, more expanded, and harmonious – the greater is the perfection, and the greater the promise of the realization of our good will. (Herbart, 2015b, p.110)

It can be seen that regarding aims of choice Herbart clearly states that object(s) of will of the pupil are of no interest to teacher. Instead, it is the *will* of pupil itself, that is the object of teacher's interest here. This means that when it comes to aims of choice, Herbart is not concerned with specifics of the *content* of pupil's will, with specific subjects etc. Instead, what matters is the quality of pupil's will itself. For example, it's unimportant whether we're talking about pupil's interest in mathematics, language or some other object of thought or practice. What's important is the kind of activity of pupil's will itself and the fact of that will's activity during these interactions with the object. This approach enables Herbart to start with the pupil as already existent, individual being, by acknowledging the pupil's "object of choice", regardless of the properties of that object. This is pedagogically acceptable and not relativistic because at this stage (the first part of educational aim) it's the pupil's will itself that's important, namely, it's growing vitality, susceptibility and as we'll see later, manifold receptivity. This is the road towards developing what Herbart calls "many-sidedness of interest". Therefore, Herbart can say that here teacher is not confused by manifold (possible) objects of will and is concentrated upon activity of the pupil. One should also note that Herbart talks about will and not about (self-) consciousness as a primary category, because he sees humans as primarily practical beings.

Regarding further narrowing of a person's will into specific objects and activities, Herbart says:

Every man must have a love for all activities, each must be a virtuoso in one. But the particular virtuosship is a matter of choice; on the contrary, the manifold receptivity which can only grow out of manifold beginnings of one's own individual efforts is a matter of education. Therefore, we call the first part of the educational aim – many-sidedness of interest, which must be distinguished from its exaggeration – dabbling in many things. (Herbart, 2015b, p.110/111)

This is very important because it's particularly clear from this quote that particular "goals", "competences", "skills", "particular knowledge" etc. are irrelevant for Herbart's idea of pedagogical purpose when it comes to many-sidedness of interest. What's essential and necessary is "manifold receptivity" which grows out of "manifold beginnings". We'll explicate fur-

ther the logic and dialectic of many-sidedness of interest at a later stage of this text where we'll talk about logic of pedagogical becoming and interest as an interplay of *concentration* and *reflection*.

Aims of morality

Aims of morality are the second part of the dialectical unity of twofold educational purpose. Regarding these: "Since morality has its place singly and only in the individual's will, founded on right insight (Ger. *Richtiger Einsicht*), it follows of itself, first and foremost, that the work of moral education is not by any means to develop a certain external mode of action, but rather insight together with corresponding volition in the mind of the pupil" (Herbart, 2015b, p.111). It is necessary to point out at the very beginning that Herbart uses the word "morality" (Ger. *Sittlichkeit*) in a philosophical sense and that it shouldn't be understood religiously or dogmatically. It is said in this passage that morality is founded on "right insight", which for Herbart seems to rest on accepting Kant's moral philosophy regarding the moral law. *Structurally* though, the essential character of "right insight" for the character of "aims of morality" in that "they can't be neglected" is still the same whether we accept Kant's moral philosophy as the content of that right insight or even if we considered it (the "right insight") similarly to our discussion about idea as sight of revealed being. Morality then follows from the practical standpoint of will that is determined according to idea. In any case, aims of morality form the determining object-side of subject-object dialectic that we've started from. Further, Herbart emphasizes that this kind of determination is not external, neither in its cause, nor in its consequence, but is altogether property of pupil's mind and will. In terms of dialectical unity of subject-objectivity, this is formally very similar to Fichte's principle of *Tathandlung* that we've explicated earlier. Since this is an autonomous (self-setting) starting point, it is also able to be used as a systematic starting point for development of *Pädagogik* as an autonomous science.

In a further determination, this aims of morality object-side of pedagogical subject-object is defined by Herbart as:

Therefore, that the ideas of the right and good in all their clearness and purity may become the essential objects of the will, that the innermost intrinsic contents of the character - the very heart of the personality - shall determine itself according to these ideas, putting back all arbitrary impulses - this and nothing less is the aim of moral culture. (Herbart, 2015b, p.112)

To transform oneself through clear insight into ideas of right and good and the kind of practice that necessarily follows, to *become* right and good, is the full purpose of aim of morality. Again, it is clear that Herbart here talks of both (self-)consciousness and will, but he primarily uses practical ideas of “right and good”, as derived from Kant, for determining force, because he is primarily pedagogically concerned with practice.

Now we can sum this twofold purpose of education. Aims of choice as the first part of educational aim enable us to take the pupil in his/her individual, concrete existence and his/her own particular already existent interests and form practical pedagogical relation with him/her through acknowledgment of those interests. At this stage, teacher is not concerned with these objects of pupil’s will, but with the vitality, susceptibility and receptivity of his will itself and is aiming to develop pupil’s many-sidedness of interest. The other part of educational aim is concerned with development of moral culture through “essential” objects of will that are defined by practical ideas of “right and good”. In their synthesis, these two parts of educational aim contain the subject-principle of free will in the aims of choice part and a determining object-principle of aims of morality. Together they form subject-objectivity in terms of aim of education. Now we will take a closer look at the process of pedagogical becoming, in light of this idea of aim.

Interest as logic of pedagogical becoming

As we’ve already said, *Bildung* has, at its root, the inner logic of both *being* and *becoming* of *idea/eidos*. Even language-wise, it is both, a noun and a verb. The self-determining nature of *Bildung* as a process is clearer when one sees its connection to what we’ve discussed previously through idea of subject–object dialectics of human being. This same dialectic is seen in Herbart’s structure of pedagogical purpose. The “motor” of this purposeful process is many-sided interest, that’s also from within connected with the idea of morality as proper insight and volition based on ideas of right and good. However, this doesn’t mean that human being can ever become fully right and good to the point where interest would justifiably stop being active. This means that dialectic of interest is and remains the structural logic of pedagogical (self-)becoming. Interest is in its essence the dialectical tension of *inter-esse* (to-be-in-between) between concentration (Ger. *Vertiefung*) and reflection (Ger. *Besinnung*). Interest is a truly dialectical idea and thing: it cannot be grasped by either concentration or reflection taken separately one from another.

Concentration

Regarding concentration, Herbart says:

...the mind must go out clearly in many directions. The question arises - How, in doing this, can the personality be preserved? Personality rests on the unity of consciousness, on co-ordination, on Reflection. The acts of concentration exclude each other, and thus even exclude the Reflection in which they must be united. These processes cannot be contemporaneous; they must therefore follow one upon the other; we get first one act of concentration, then another, then their meeting in reflection. How many numberless transitions of this kind must the mind make before a person, in the possession of a rich reflection and the completest power of reverting at will into every concentration, can call himself many-sided. (Herbart, 2015b, p. 124)

First of all, the *many-sided* character of interest dictates that mind must go in many directions. Secondly, concentrations exclude each other, which means that the nature of our conscious interaction with objects of the mind is such that we cannot properly concentrate on more objects simultaneously. To concentrate upon an object means literally to become that object, to enter it, to gain insight, to see clearly and distinctly. "Distinctly", that is - not mixed with similar or different objects of thought. "Clearly", that is - in all its particulars: "Quiescent concentration, if it be but clear and pure, sees single things distinctly. For it is only clear when everything is kept at a distance that makes the act of presentment a turbid mixture, or when several varied concentrations disintegrated by the teacher's care are presented one by one" (Herbart, 2015b, p.126).

Only such insight it truly insight. This is why acts of concentration exclude one another and instead *follow* one another. Herbart also immediately warns us that concentrations by themselves are meaningless - they are something only in reflection and synthesis, in a perception and unity of the self.

Regarding the way in which single concentrations follow one another: "The presentations are associated by the progress of one concentration in another. In the midst of the crowd of associations hovers imagination (Ger. *Phantasie*); it tastes every mixture and despises nothing but the tasteless" (Herbart, 2015b, p.126). This description shows that progress of concentrations which become clear is what Herbart calls association. It happens not linearly, but is held together by imagination which "despises nothing but the tasteless", which means - that content where there is no idea.

Concentration is subject's intention and action outside of itself, into the world of object that is being grasped, known, understood, conceived through concentration. The goal of concentration is to achieve *clearness* and *association* of objects. When those are achieved, they don't remain abstract objects of thought, but are reflected into the subject. This reflection means synthesis of this new concentration with previous, already existent *system* of thought that makes up this self-consciousness and this person. This new concentration that's being reflected in subject, in self-consciousness as system of thought has the potential to disturb the already existent system. This disturbance, this contradiction demands that it should be reconciled, integrated with the already existent system. One cannot exist as a healthy self-consciousness if one's mind is not in uncontradictory unity with itself. So, this unity of mind has to be achieved with synthesizing each new concentration and its reflection in one's system of thought.

Reflection

"But many-sidedness depends also on the result the acts of concentration will give when they meet together. By no means pure reflection, and consequently no true many-sidedness, in so far as they bring together contradictories. They then either do not combine, but remain lying near each other, in which case the man is scatterbrained, or they grind each other down and torment the mind by doubts and impossible wishes..." (Herbart, 2015b, p. 124/125)

The character of reflection (of concentrations into unity of mind, person, being) is such that it has to be without contradiction. This doesn't mean that pupils shouldn't be presented with contradictory objects of concentrations - on the contrary. It just means that the true act of reflection is dependent on synthetical thinking that during this dialectical synthesis overcomes contradiction: "Quiescent reflection sees the relationship of the many; it sees each particular thing as a member of the relationship in its right place. The perfect order of a copious reflection is called System" (Herbart, 2015b, p.127).

This reconciliation of new concentration and already existent system must not be done in a way of *arbitrary* agreement or consensus. It has to be a true synthesis, a true dialectical higher unity of former contradiction. This newly achieved unity means that the self-consciousness as an already existent system of thought is truly transformed through its synthesizing in higher dialectical union with new concentration. This fact is exactly what

Bildung is: this inner change of self-consciousness and being, transformation of subject. *Bildung* cannot be understood as mere "knowledge" that could be outside of what subject itself is. *Bildung* is a category of being, not of knowing, as Max Scheler put it (Scheler, 1996).

Lastly, when pupil becomes a truly self-conscious subject in this process: "The progress of reflection is Method. It runs through system, produces new members of it, and watches over the result in its application" (Herbart, 2015b, p.127). This is actually a standpoint of self-actualized will that is capable of self-governing.

What continental *Pädagogik* could mean

This basic outline of idea of *Pädagogik* and its inner logic brings us now at the end to the possibility of asking ourselves: what is continental *Pädagogik* and what does it mean? Is continental *Pädagogik* maybe even pleonasm and *Pädagogik* by definition is determined by and through classical (continental) European thought? If so, that doesn't mean that there aren't other possible outlooks on matters of education and different theoretical and practical approaches from different sciences, but our main question here is that of *Pädagogik* specifically.

If we define this line of European spirit, beginning in ancient Greece and later in humanism and particularly German neo-humanism as what "continental European" thought in *Pädagogik* and themes related to *Pädagogik* is, then in the above deductions we have a possible outline of the perspective of continental pedagogical thinking and practice. Fundamental classical Greek revelations of what *idea* (Gr.), *theoria* (Gr.), truth as *aletheia* (Gr.) and *being* are, have clearly made possible the beginnings of pedagogical thinking. When we look at the first later distinct attempt to fundamentally think through *Pädagogik* as a specific science, in the work of J. F. Herbart, which was inspired by classical German philosophy, the continuation of this classical Greek and European tradition is clear – especially in context of ideas surrounding freedom and *Bildung*. In ideas that we've followed here, there's a deep unity which goes much further from what we've been able to look at in this chapter. We hope that these reflections can serve as one possible sketch and a moment in dialogue that serves as a good stimulus for trying to think *Pädagogik* in a fundamental theoretical way.

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1.2 *Pädagogik* in Relation to the Educational Sciences

1.2.1 Modernity and Education: One or Many Topics?

Giuseppe Mari

Usually “modernity” is considered a singular noun as it is confirmed by the so-called post-modernity and its related opposition to modernity. Obviously, it isn’t wrong, but I think it isn’t completely right. In fact, modernity isn’t a “one-way movement”: there are at least two different kinds of modernity. It is a critical point because it allows to deal with the crisis of modernity without refusing it in favour of post-modernity. In my opinion, post-modernity is very questionable because of its tendency to embrace irrationality against modern rationality.

In this paper, I will be reviewing developments in educational thinking. The context for this discussion is largely that of modernity. It is useful to recognize that there is not only “one” Modernity, but many; for instance, early modernity, high or classic modernity and late modernity. Also, while the dominant currents within modernity are objectivist or rationalist in character, there are also some notable counter-currents, as we shall see. After this review, I will give attention to the concept of “competence” because it is a strategic issue within contemporary education, but a problematic one too. In fact, if the concept of competence is interpreted merely as functional, school education is at risk of being deflected from its own mission related to moral maturity and citizenship. To recognize modernity as “plural” is essential in order to face its crisis (Bauman, 2002; Taylor, 2006; Eisenstadt, 2006; Wagner, 2013).

“Modernity”: what does it mean?

The word “modernity” – common to neo-Latin idioms (French *modernité*, Italian *modernità*, Portuguese *modernidade*, Romanian *modernitate*, Spanish *modernidad*), northern idioms (Danish, Norwegian, Swedish *modernitet*), Slavic idioms (Croatian *modernost*, Serbian *модерност/modernost*, Slovak *modernosť*) and Hungarian *modernség* – comes from late-Latin *modernus*, including *modo* (“now”) and *hodiernus* (“today’s”). Immediately it is clear that both two words are connoted by the present-centered time-determination, as it also happens with the Polish word *nowoczesność* and the German word *Neuzeit* (“new time”), and with the Slovenian word *sodobnost* and the Russian word *современность/sovremennost* (they both

come from the Greek *synchronos*, "today's time"). Really the modern age first of all is identified by the chronological reference pointed in the present.

In fact, generally modern cultural features are against traditional customs and they have in common the strong emphasis about the opposition between the past and the present. Many authors confirm the statement. For example, both Bacon and Descartes are very polemic against their education marked by tradition. Descartes is unequivocal:

I have been bred up to Letters from mine infancy; and because I was persuaded, that by their means a man might acquire a clear and certain knowledge of all that's useful for this life, I was extremely desirous to learn them. But as soon as I had finished all the course of my studies, at the end where men are usually received amongst the rank of the learned, I wholly changed my opinion, for I found myself full of so many doubts and errors, that I thought I had made no other profit in seeking to instruct myself, but that I had the more discovered mine own ignorance (Descartes, 1994, t. I, p. 500).

The same polemic attitude against traditional culture is testified by Bacon because – according to him – it "has the characteristic property of boys: it can talk, but it cannot generate, for it is fruitful of controversies but barren of works" (Bacone, 1998, p. 13). Instead of the lack of foundation proper to humanistic knowledge, Bacon honours mechanical arts as "founded on nature and the light of experience" – that's why "they (as long as they are popular) seem full of life, and uninterruptedly grow, being at first rude, then convenient, lastly polished, and perpetually improved" (Bacone, 1998, p. 139). Later, during the age of Enlightenment (the acme of Modernity), faith in new scientific perspectives leads to the ideology of progress: Positivistic culture makes systematic that attitude; human-kind's history is interpreted as evolutionary and – as with Comte in Sociology and Tylor in Anthropology – it is common to consider the science as predictive knowledge.

Modernity's chronological-direction (centered in the present) is confirmed by another issue too. After being started during Alexandrian civilization, philology became crucial within the modern age. Humanist scholars especially were interested in philology because they wanted to study *humanae litterae* from the historical approach, directed to restore texts to their original shape. Also from this point of view, the attention to the present is peculiar to modern age because philology aims to restore documents and to make them come back to their starting point.

Modern historical attitudes reach their high point during 19th-century historicism. According to historicism, all human life happens within history, no transcendence is possible and everything is under passing time. Actually, at the beginning, Modernity wasn't against transcendence (as the openness to the Divine) but it became more and more secular as the time rolled by. In today's cultural circumstances, it may well seem possible and reasonable to do without transcendence, but contemporary cultural crises raise the question again: is post-modernity the answer or is it necessary to reconsider modern identity? I am inclined to believe that to address the question adequately it is necessary to come back to the starting points within modernity. This may help to recognize more than one way to be modern. With this in mind, I want to focus firstly on "traditional" modernity and then to review some post-modern tendencies.

The so-called modernity in philosophy and education

When did Modernity begin? One could in fact identify its origins with the fall of the Oriental Roman Empire (1453). This provides an analogy with the beginning of medieval age in 476 (when the Occidental Roman Empire was overthrown). Lately 1492 has been preferred because of the discovery of America. From the cultural point of view, strictly speaking, Modernity originates with the "new vision" about knowledge, as captured for instance by Bacon's *Novum organum scientiarum* (1620), Descartes' *Regulae ad directionem ingenii* (1628), Malebranche's *De la recherche de la vérité* (1674–1675), Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Hume's *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748) and Kant's *Critiques* (1781, 1788, 1790). With regard to a scientific method informing the "new vision" about knowledge, Galileo is the main reference. From the anthropological point of view, Modernity is generally associated to the "geometrized" idea of human behaviour according to Spinozian *Etica more geometrico demonstrata* (1677, posthumous) and to the "geometrized" idea of human reason in Hobbes' *De corpore* (1655). Actually, this attitude is more ancient, coming from Leonardo da Vinci's statement: "There is no certainty [in science] where one of the mathematical sciences cannot be applied, or in those [sciences] which are not in harmony with mathematics" (Leonardo da Vinci, 1997, p. 64). Galileo embraced the same idea, as we can read within his *Letter to Fortunio Liceti* (Arcetri, January 1641):

I really think that the book of philosophy is that which is perpetually open to our eyes. But being written in characters different from those of our alphabet, it cannot be read by everyone; the characters of this book are triangles, squares, circles, spheres, cones, pyramids and other mathematical figures, the most suited for this sort of reading (Galilei, 1968, t. XVIII, p. 295).

Hobbes' interpretation of reasoning like calculation is on the same line. He says:

By Ratiocination, I mean computation. Now to compute, is either to collect the sum of many things that are added together, or to know what remains when one thing is taken out of another. Ratiocination, therefore, is the same with addition and subtraction; and if any man adds multiplication and division, I will not be against it, seeing multiplication is nothing but addition of equals one to another, and division is nothing but a subtraction of equals one from another, as often as is possible. So that all ratiocination is comprehended in these two operations of the mind, addition and subtraction (Hobbes, 1972, p. 71).

The same idea is shared by Locke: "By what steps we are to proceed in these, is to be learned in the schools of the mathematicians (...) morality is capable of demonstration as well as mathematics" (Locke, 2007², pp. 1209–1211), as well by Wolff when he says that he draws his inspiration from "mathematicians' way of thinking, especially the ancient geometers like Euclid's *Elements*" (Wolff, 2003, p. 45).

As can be gathered from these examples, the point is the firm belief that "the" method exists. Previously, and on the contrary, according to Aristotle, the common advice was about "many methods", not only one. Platonic sources might indicate otherwise but – within the scientific field – Aristotle was the authority. In his *Metaphysics* he is clear:

Hence one must have been already trained how to take each kind of argument, because it is absurd to seek simultaneously for knowledge and for the method of obtaining it; and neither is easy to acquire. Mathematical accuracy is not to be demanded in everything, but only in things which do not contain matter (Aristotle, 1968, t. I, p. 222).

The opposite became characteristic of Modernity: that's why science became intrinsically predictive, looking for "natural laws" as "no-changeable laws". Modernity embraced more and more the "objective" attitude towards knowledge and refused the Aristotelian "final cause", keeping the

material, formal and efficient ones only. For the same reason, practical knowledge became more an application of science, leading increasingly to functional models. From this point of view, modernity sought progressive mastery of reality through mathematics and technique.

Since Leonardo da Vinci's interest in automatic systems, as the top of human knowledge, the trend is clear: "Mechanics are the paradise of scientific mathematics, because with them we arrive at the fruits of mathematics" (Leonardo da Vinci, 1997, p. 64). Before Leonardo's time, starting from ancient Greek civilization and during the medieval Christian period, the world had been interpreted as a living creature: as a big complex "animal". That is why, for example, Thomas Aquinas – in *Summa Theologiae*, II-II, q. 95, a. 5, resp. (1991, t. XVIII, pp. 320–324) – was not against astrology as knowledge regarding astral influences over the "sensitive" human soul (as is confirmed by adjectives like "moody", "sunny", "jovial", "martial", "saturnine"). With the 17th-century beginnings of Modernity, however, everything changes, and that former idea is increasingly replaced by an interpretation of the world as a big mechanical system, open to manipulation and use. In particular, everything is interpreted as cause/effect organized. The high point of this early Modernity is the book by De La Mettrie *Man a Machine* (1747). Later, positivistic movements advanced much the same idea. In reaction, during the 19th century, spiritualism was born. According to the spiritualist thinkers, it is no possible to study the human creature only in the light of cause/effect paradigm because of freedom. For this reason, spiritualist thinkers interpret "facts" as "acts". That's why they also distinguish between "natural sciences" and "human sciences", related to different kinds of knowledge: *Erklären* (explanation) and *Verstehen* (comprehension), respectively – the first deals with an object, the second with a subject (the human creature as free being). Educational knowledge was the most involved science within the cultural struggle between *Erklären* and *Verstehen* because it deals with education: the human being, understood under the concept of education, is not an object, even if it is possible to describe some educational features in scientific terms.

Education and "different" Modernity

Among educational authors of the early Modernity under review here, Comenius is the most modern. This is clear if we give attention to the methodological features of his *Didactica Magna*. Here the matter under investigation is explored through axioms, postulates, corollaries, as if it would

be Mathematics or Geometry. Comenius has faith in "the" method. In his "Greeting to the reader", he says: "We venture to promise a *great didactic*, that is to say, the whole art of teaching all things to all men, and indeed of teaching them with certainty, so that the result cannot fail to follow" (Comenius, 1993, p. 5). Like Comenius, Descartes also identifies knowledge with "analysis" and "synthesis" (XXI, 14), "enumeration" (XVIII, 45), and he associates them to "distinction" (XX, 23). But there is something new. Comenius' reference to *synkrisis* as "comparison" among beings, involving "differences" distinguishes him from other figures of early Modernity. Comenius focuses it when he compares educational knowledge to ocular vision:

If the object is to be clearly seen it is necessary : 1) that it be placed before the eyes; 2) not far off, but at a reasonable distance; 3) not on one side, but straight before the eyes; 4) and so that the front of the object be not turned away from, but directed towards the observer; 5) that the eyes first take in the object as a whole; 6) and then proceed to distinguish the parts; 7) inspecting these in order from the beginning to the end; 8) that attention be paid to each and every part; 9) until they are all grasped by means of their essential attributes (Comenius, 1993, p. 325).

Comenius paid particular attention to "difference", namely to the singularity of each human being. In fact, Comenius stresses the necessity of self-knowledge:

When Pittacus of old gave to the world his saying *Know thyself*, the sentiment was received by the wise with so much approval, that, in order to impress it on the people, they declared that it had fallen from heaven, and caused it to be written in golden letters on the temple of the Delphic Apollo, where great assemblies of men used to collect. Their action was prudent and wise; but their statement was false. It was, however, in the interests of truth, and is of great importance to us. For what is the voice from heaven that resounds in the Scriptures but *Know thyself, oh man, and know Me* (Comenius, 1993, p. 45).

Something of this departure from the intellectual tenor of modernity is also evident in Pestalozzi. In fact, even if Pestalozzi embraces modern mathematical method, as Girard charges in his *Report on the Pestalozzi Institute in Yverdon*, written in 1810 (Girard, 1950, p. 89), Pestalozzi clearly speaks about "thinking love" (Pestalozzi, 1970), associated with a mother's way of educating. I believe that both Comenius and Pestalozzi show a new way of thinking within modernity, more attentive to concrete ways

of acting, not a mathematical/geometrical way. Nevertheless, key aspects of their thinking remain coherent to modern mentality.

By contrast, other 17th-century authors embrace an open polemic against modernity. For example, Pascal clearly refuses the modern “*esprit de géométrie*” and takes sides in favour of “*esprit de finesse*” when the issue is the study of the human being as distinct from the material world (Pascal, 2003). Another educator from early Modernity not involved within “the” method is Balthasar Gracián, who speaks about education aiming for the singular development of each person (Gracián, 2008). He goes back to the Aristotelian concept of “practical truth”. This means that when we are studying the human being, it is not possible to deal only with objective knowledge. Even Immanuel Kant – the most important modern philosopher – in his *Critique of Judgement* appreciates sensible knowledge as distinct from objective knowledge, introducing the way of thinking proper to Schiller, “aesthetic education” and the Romantic Age (Schiller, 2007).

The authors referred to in the previous paragraphs are champions of a “different” modernity. In fact, they are innovators (for example, both Pascal and Gracián had problems with contemporary religious authorities), but they are deeply rooted within the transcendence horizon, unlike the classic authors of modernity who were closer to secular mind. Today’s cultural crises are actually produced by developments within modernity, particularly developments connected to “the” method: to the mathematical translation of arguments, to the supremacy of descriptive and objective knowledge. From Pascal to Schiller we can find a contrasting way of thinking, more attentive to the singularity of each human person. In fact, authors like those just considered did more than provide enduring counterpoint to the ascendant currents of modernity. They also kept alive ancient classical ideas like that of *lógos* and inserted these in various ways into the thinking of modernity.

The word *lógos* – coming from the verb *léghein*, “to collect” – deals with the comparison among different ideas. It is very important in order to recognize the peculiarity of human knowledge, fit to connect and to separate at the same time. Especially from the educational and ethical point of view, this attitude rejects any formalization according to Aristotelian doctrine concerning the variety of beings and goods. Aristotle stresses that there are many factors within moral decisions. Nowadays it’s important to recognize the difference between this way of thinking and the relativistic one. Aristotle doesn’t support any moral relativism. Just like Socrates’ maieutics he doesn’t think that each one professes one’s own truth, but that every person finds out *personally* common truth. In the same way, according

to Aristotle, *lógos* allows each other to confront ideas and opinions in the light of the community made by gnoseological principles like "not contradiction" asserting that it is no possible to say something and the opposite in the same moment and under the same point of view. Everything happens for a reason open to be explored: that's why it is possible to find it by picking up in unity different things. This attitude is referred to one of the most important Socratic ideas, according to Plato's testimony within *Gorgias*:

Of what sort am I? – Socrates says – One of those who would be glad to be refuted if I say anything untrue, and glad to refute anyone else who might speak untruly; but just as glad, mind you, to be refuted as to refute, since I regard the former as the greater benefit, in proportion as it is greater benefit for oneself to be delivered from the greatest evil than to deliver someone else (Plato, 1992, t. V, p. 156).

Among modern authors Rousseau is clearly aware of the limits of modern rationalism. It is interesting to observe that Rousseau had problems not only with the Catholic Church (because of his idea about nature as something "pure" in itself), but also with Enlightenment thinkers. In fact, he rejects their descriptive and functional way of thinking and supports "nature" as the original reference. But what is the "nature state" according to Rousseau? It isn't something ancient from the chronological point of view. In his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* he speaks about nature as "a state which no longer exists, perhaps never did exist, and probably never will exist" (Rousseau, 19942, p. 88). If the "nature state" would mean the "primitive state", surely it would be existed and it could be possible to come back to it from today's situation. Actually, it is something original not from the chronological point of view, but from the anthropological point of view. Rousseau's thought is close to the Platonic utopian theory concerning the "ideal city" in *The Republic* (IX, 592a–b) and Rousseau – in the Book I of *Émile* – openly says that the Platonic work is an educational book: the "nature state" is actually "metahistorical" (Rousseau, 1995, p. 12).

Rousseau was very interested in ancient moralists. He is clearly aware that human originality is freedom. His educational advice is: "Teach him [the pupil] to live rather than to avoid death: life is not breath, but action, the use of our senses, our mind, our faculties, every part of ourselves which makes us conscious of our being" (Rousseau, 1995, p. 15). That's why he is in favour of nature – as the natural environment; he organizes teaching starting from moral education and only later aims for functional knowledge. Two centuries later these ideas are still topical, facing the so-called

question of “youth discomfort”. In fact, young people, well supplied from the functional point of view, have difficulties facing concrete life: in taking decisions about their future and in rejecting what is dangerous, particularly from the moral point of view. In other words, young people have many “competences”, but today’s school is at risk in becoming preoccupied with useful knowledge to the neglect of moral maturity. In this sense, the crisis of modernity today is the crisis of the cultural tendency to prefer “*Erklären* knowledge” to “*Verstehen* knowledge”. In the final section, I shall argue that a “different” modernity can help to face this situation.

A revised modernity and the challenge of “competence”

To speak about post-modernity means to recognize the crisis of modernity (Gregory, 2016; Barilli, 2013; Bauman, 2007). While being critical of post-modern ideology, I would grant that it makes clear the crisis of modernity. In particular, I think that it is better to explore constructively a “different” modernity, rather than to seek to escape from modernity’s problems by embracing irrationality and relativism. If we take into consideration authors like Pascal or Schiller, it is easy to recognize that they are, in an important sense, close to today’s sensibility; namely, keenly perceptive of singularity and individual originality. They are also as attentive to the contingency of human existence as is today’s common mind, but not in a relativistic way because they recognize the *lógos*, even if not in a mere descriptive way. I think that it is desirable the same attention to the contingency of human existence if we want to promote the idea of “competence” from the educational point of view, not only in a functional way.

The idea of “competence” is a crucial issue in today’s educational policies. It is clear that the European Union is promoting school education in order to support to be able to act, not only to know. That is why such policies speak increasingly not just of “knowledge”, but of “competences”. The reference is to the ability to do, not only to know something – respectively the second and first pillars of the noted Delors’ Report *Learning: The Treasure Within* (Delors, 1996). Obviously, this idea is good, but there is the risk of interpreting practical knowledge as mere functional knowledge. The risk is that of forgetting that the human being is first of all an ethical creature, able to recognize the value not only in useful actions, but principally in good actions. If education in general, and school education in particular, become functional, it is at the risk of failing to recognize the distinctiveness of human originality, as compared to animal identity; in fact, as Aristotle

said centuries ago, within *On the Generation of Animals*, "nature always does what is useful" (Aristotle, 1973, p. 219), but the human being isn't like other living creatures.

The European text *Key Competences for Lifelong Learning* (European Communities, 2007, p. 3) says that "key competences" are the "combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes appropriate to the context": they are – it is specified – "those which all individuals need for personal fulfilment and development, active citizenship, social inclusion and employment". Two years later another European document – *European Qualification Framework for Lifelong Learning* (European Communities, 2008, p. 11) – defines "competence" as "the proven ability to use knowledge, skills and personal, social and/or methodological abilities, in work or study situations and in professional and personal development". These documents are important because, on one side, they clearly speak about "competence" as something useful, but, on the other side, they say that there is a strong relation between competence and *situation*: I mean contingency as it is identified by the Aristotelian concept of "practical truth".

We know that the word "competence", if interpreted from the perspective of social psychology and the sociology of work, is associated with the *description* of human productive behavior. The point here is to make it possible to identify competence itself more specifically as a functional ability and to reproduce it. This *objective/pragmatic* interpretation of the concept is not however so compatible with freedom as human peculiarity. The problem is that it improves the technical, not the ethical (practical not pragmatic) meaning of education. It is necessary to be clear that first of all "competence" has a social meaning. Authors as different from each other as Dewey and Maritain – clearly saw this when they speak about the very nature of school (Dewey, 1900; Dewey, 1916; Maritain, 1943). They are both in favour of the school as the public educational place provided to improve citizenship, as is also clearly affirmed by many national and international documents. We must not forget that the word "competence" comes from the Latin verb *petere*. This word means not only "to ask in order to have something" but also "to be directed to somewhere" (for example, *petere Romam* means "to go to Rome"). From this point of view, to have competence means to go into a chosen direction. Besides the same ambiguity is peculiar to the word *cum*. It means not only association, but also the chronological identification related to the Latin word *quando* ("when"). For this reason, we can recognize within the word "competence" something of the same meaning as the Greek word *phrónesis* ("practical wisdom") as to be able to choose what is better in order to reach elected goals. Aristotelian *phrónesis*

isn't against technical means, but it is in favour of the ability to ordinate and subordinates them to ethical intentions. On this understanding, to be competent means to grow in coherence with the active, transformative and performative identity of human beings: first of all, from the ethical point of view, only secondly from the technical one.

Crises in modernity provide the opportunity to think again about modern cultural trends in order to make our civilization become more attentive to humanization as the capacity not only to live, but "to live well" – *morally* well – as Aristotle says in his *Economics* (Aristotle, 1991, t. IX, p. 285). To recognize modernity as a plural noun can help us because a "different" modernity – being attentive to the singularity peculiar to each person – is morally oriented and is able to challenge today's functional tendencies.

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1.2.2 The Cosmic Dimension of Education. Eugen Fink in the Continental Tradition Philosophy of Education (Taking into Account the Tradition of Czech Philosophy of Education)

Naděžda Pelcová

If we ask a question about the fundamental nature of the Continental concept of education, then we first have the task of attempting to define the specificity of the pedagogical and philosophical meaning of education, the difference between *Pädagogik* and the philosophy of education. *Pädagogik* as a discipline begins by defining terms (Průcha 1997; Průcha 2000) and the definition of its subject: Education, at least from the viewpoint of a discipline such as *Pädagogik*, is a long-term, deliberate, purposeful process of the holistic formation of a human personality in terms of his intellectual, moral, volitional and social development (Pařízek, 1996, p. 76). Emphasis is on the word “process”, which evokes the idea of a necessary and causal procedure. Such a definition starts from the premise that education is a necessity, given, indisputable fact, in which metaphysical constants are given through historically changing “variables”. The first of them is the educator, the second is the educated, and the third is the subject – namely the material to be studied. Another undoubted constant, on this view, is legality (the legal obligation of the older generation to educate the younger). Then there is the legitimacy of such an educational formation (be it *telos*, i.e. the purpose of some higher preordained instance, as Prof. Palouš mentions, or human “good will”, expressed, for example in the words of the educator “we’re doing it for the young”). The process is established, the objective is set (it is the development of man for his own), it is only the way – the method to achieve this objective that still needs to be found.

The philosophy of education cannot proceed like this. Unlike science and its positive knowledge, it is typical of philosophy that the most important intellectual act is not the answer but the question. The philosophical approach is characterized by radical questioning; in which nothing remains unquestioned. Hence, we are forced to return to the question: What is education? Although we somehow already know, it is one of the fundamental experiences of our lives. Here education emerges not as an objectifiable subject of scientific inquiry, but rather as a phenomenon or a great phenomenon of human existence, as existential, as one of the supporting pillars on which human ex-

istence is formed, scheduled and based. The initial point of view, from which education is deliberated, is primarily care and concern of the existence of those who depend on us, as well as care and concern for ourselves, so we are able to fulfill our tasks and, ultimately care and concern for our shared world, the space where we can meet (it may be home, school, university ...). Man is a creature of the world and education in the philosophical sense is nothing more than presenting man into the common world, in this sense, man has a cosmic character.

The ontology of education

This difference of possible approaches, assumptions and subjects is by Eugen Fink in practically all of his works dealing with the issues of philosophy of education. Eugen Fink (1905–1975) was the last assistant to Edmund Husserl and his peculiar successor in the phenomenology of human behavior (work, play and also education). Education became a major life theme for him. He spent his time not only at the Department of Philosophy but also teaching at the University of Freiburg, and in the 1950s he was involved in drawing up the national education plan called the "Bremer Plan" (Fink, 1960).

Fink continually returned to the question of how to penetrate the essence of the phenomenon of education. He eliminates the possibility that one could proceed by describing some anthropological foundations of education (this also excludes the possibility of systematic science of education) – and then by using these as a basis for educational action: for instance, if man is conceived as *animal rationale*, then the aim of education is to develop this rationality; if man is conceived as *homo faber*, then education is a way of developing his practical skills to create the conditions for his own life (as it happens in pragmatism, for example), if man is conceived as a *cultural entity*, then the aim of education is understanding, acceptance and development of cultural examples (as in cultural *Pädagogik*). All of these concepts of education, based on a specific anthropological paradigm, have gradually become exhausted in the history of their possibilities and have been replaced by others. On Fink's view, such understandings of the phenomenon of education have become obsolete.

For Fink, man is not a finally defined substance, but a prodigal son of nature, an alien and an outcast in his own world; the imperfection of our existence, its unformedness, its incompleteness is the most essential feature of our being. Consciousness of this imperfection forces us to seek solutions, and this seeking is human education. Fink therefore argues, unlike *Pädagogik*,

that education is not derivable and understandable from a definition of what man is, but rather, that man can be understood from education as: the educated and the educator (*homo educandus* and *homo educans*).

Only man is faced with the task of giving a form of education due to his essential openness and incompleteness (an animal is complete in the perfection of its instincts), imperfections (in contrast perhaps to a perfect and eternal God). Education, on Fink's view, provides man with the ability to understand the world in which he lives, to understand that this world is not something obvious and that it is something alive, something that needs to be taken care of to prevent it being destroyed. Education teaches man to be dependent on the world in the sense of the cosmos, and teaches him to have an open attitude to the world. This openness of man (*In-der-Welt-Sein* – being in the world) is freedom and freedom is, according to Fink, the foundation allowing all learning (Fink, 1992, p. 66).

The humanity of man essentially helps determine the grand phenomenon of education. "Education is the establishment of sojourn in the whole" (Fink, 1992, p. 22). It is misleading and meaningless according to Fink to want to build *Pädagogik* as a way of finding how to accomplish a task of society or individual persons (education as socialization and education as individualization). Education must fulfill its task: introduce man to the whole of the world.

"Education is not primarily an institutional matter ... it is a completely original relationship of a sojourn with oneself" (Fink, 1992, p. 176). Fink points out education has taken place in two streams, paths or strategies; firstly, through institutions, which from the beginning have formed human society in order to ensure the continuity of existence. There are fixed rituals, rules and norms of relations, the hierarchical order of society, as well as schools and educational institutions in various forms (educational practices, patterns, guidelines, ideals etc.). It is here in this institutional environment, where the educational sciences (*Erziehungswissenschaften*) gradually took shape and grew. But secondly, education provides something else, an understanding of what is happiness and unhappiness, and what is the meaning of life. This second stream is something like an undercurrent unobvious, but strong and active. Fink believes that these important life impulses in this undercurrent do not come from a science of education or from a reflex, but from the "foundation of existence" (*Untergrund des Daseins*) (Fink, 1978, p. 20). This creates a tension between education as traditionally mediated learning in life (*Lebenslehre*) and education as scientifically thematized knowledge (*Erziehungswissenschaften*).

The phenomenon of education can be explored in terms of conflict and of apparent and unapparent unity; there arises a comparison with an iceberg,

most of which remains hidden beneath the surface. Education phenomenon also seems to be always in a certain context, in some enlightenment and we leave it to occur once in the context of reflection and sometimes in unreflected proximity in the sense of the basic experience belonging to human life.

Similarly, the phenomenon of education seems to be always in a certain context, illumination, and we only let it arise in the context of reflection (theory of education), and sometimes in unexamined closeness as a basic experience of human life. In Fink's words: "Education is a common conversation between young and old, it takes place like the appointment of the laws" (Fink, 1992, p. 177). On this view, it is important for education to be a dialogue, an encounter across generations, bound by solidarity, a sense of belonging, which is committed to caring for those who are newly arriving. According to Fink, the purpose of education is not to present canons and an overview of ready-made answers to the problems of life. Education is about creating understanding and self-understanding, which manifests itself in asking questions about the nature of life itself. Understanding is expressed by a question to which the previous interpretation is the answer. Only he who asks knows what he is talking about. Only he who asks is captivated. Education is not the fastest technique for acquiring knowledge and skills; it is not a transfer of values and norms; it is characterized by courage to ask the question: what is a human being? The great phenomenon of education arises most deeply in questioning.

Therefore, Fink refers to education as "*Not – Wendigkeit*", a necessity, also as "*Lebensnot*", "life emergency". Only man is troubled by education. It is a fundamental event in which human existence gains a foothold, form and law. "Life advice, life support, life form and life law are in no way a factual human security against occasional states of emergency; education cannot remove or destroy this, it only reverses and turns it, the same as being full silences hunger but never cancels our basic reliance on food" (Fink, 1992, pp. 24–25).

Therefore, man is essentially "dependent" on education throughout his life; education is the ontological foundation of his sojourn here on earth; it is an expression of the human desire for overcoming an emergency; it is the mainstay of his fragile and vulnerable life, an effort to acquire a human form and the establishment of law. Man is born naked, naked in every sense, a small child is not only weak and helpless, but also incapable of self-preservation. He is fully dependent on protection, care, nutrition; he does not understand his position; he cannot talk; he is undeveloped, immature. During the education process he undergoes, in a sense, his "second birth", the birth of a social man. Through education in speech, he changes from a little creature into a cultural creature, who understands "meaning" and "sensory content".

Education for speech is also education for educability and thus has a fundamental significance (Fink, 1978, p. 149). A child does not live *weltlos* – without the world; his spirit is not *tabula rasa*; it exists in a hard to grasp way of possibilities. A child is somehow closed in the world, his spiritual abilities are not yet developed, but they are nevertheless already here! From his very first breath a child belongs to a human, historically social world. Even at birth, he hears his first word. The lack of speech of a child rests in the space of speech, isolation from society rests inside society, closeness to the whole world takes place in this world. We do not begin our lives outside society, or even outside its institutional forms. “As soon as person is born, he is protected in maternal love. Parents are obliged to protect and educate, not only from the natural instinct of the heart or a moral right, but according to state law” (Fink, 1978, p. 150). Relationships with children and caring for them is an undeniable feature of the human society – it determines a mutual affection for the family like a mysterious movement to the future; it rises in a deadly desire for immortality and its expression is found in law. In this sense, education has the task of ensuring and protecting the continuity of culture. “We stand on the soil of tradition, we are the heirs of creative ancestors, we dwell in the house of the spirit that built others, we inhabit a cultural world, which we accept” (Fink, 1978, p. 7). This is how education has always been preserved a movement of humanity.

At the same time, however, education is hope for the future, with every new generation it carries the right to live one’s life independently and to bring something new to life and culture. Hence, education is always accompanied by discontinuity, a desire for the birth of something original, new, ungiven. Fink is aware of this inner tension between continuity and discontinuity, which is present in the thinking, the decision-making and the actions of all those involved in education. It is most pronounced in the question of the meaning of life, which forms the existential basis of all education. The meaning of life cannot be passed on so easily. Each generation brings its own life project (*Lebensprojekt*) and so heritage contains little information about meaning. The creation of meaning (*Sinnbildung*) can never be regarded as complete; meaning is constantly being unfolded (questioned) and shaped.

If we ask what is the meaning of life, then it is necessary to realize that the important factor is the courage to ask the question, not the answer. Indeed, meaning is constantly changing and stabilizing. One meaning connects me with my family, another with work or with the country where we live. Live can have one meaning in one’s youth, another in adulthood, and another in old age. It is what binds us to life. If meaning is anything, it is nothing other than questioning about meaning.

Our situation – European nihilism

"We live in what is perhaps the greatest uncertainty about the meaning of life ... never before has the subject of education become as problematic as it is today" (Fink, 1959, p. 33).

In the 20th century, society underwent a significant change: experiencing two World Wars, relinquishing the image of human history as a linear advancement, experiencing the use and abuse of education for power and ideological goals, proclaiming unlimited freedom of human society and the human subject. Such claims to unlimited freedom, however, characteristically subordinate others to one's own needs. The world, nature which is practically and pragmatically subordinate to one's own interests and needs, the world, nature and often the other person are seen as a means to one's own self-realization; economic and material production has become the ultimate foundation of social life. These changes were reflected in the transformation of educational institutions, insofar as they place emphasis on the purely practical focus of education (one's role in society, on the labor market, qualification and requalification, institutes of lifelong learning, adaptability to the needs of society) and all in the parameters of the here and now. The reduction and profanation of education is thus reflected in its temporal nature.

On this critique of Fink's, the future is no longer oriented to a higher common goal (meaning, purpose), to which all special subgoals would lead; man no longer has a firmly sketched "essence" that can be fulfilled or squandered – no task has been given to him, which he could take and whose rejection would mean "blame". Human actions take place in a completely new sense of the "fragmentary"; education no longer holds the clear character of a manageable problem, "the sensory world has lost the restructured horizon of the future", the core of education has fundamentally changed (Fink, 1978, pp. 144–146). Educators can no longer rely on a customary transfer of a simple ethos of society, children and young people cannot see any older generation which would show them how to cope with life and which represents good archetypes of life management.

With reference to Nietzsche, who talks about the "death of God", or the "west of the metaphysical sun", which are Nietzsche's formulations, indicating the abolition of the meaning of human existence, Fink called the current crisis "European nihilism". According to him, we have no higher purpose of human life than to search, work and fight. "Modern man has reached – we might say – scientific knowledge, but not wisdom, he has reached a comfortable affluence, but not happiness" (Fink, 1978, p. 141).

The disaster of contemporary nihilism is significantly deepened by technology, which has pervaded all areas of human life. Technology is not meant here in the sense of “techno” as a deep understanding of the nature of things, as it was in antiquity, nor is it intended as a tool to deal with the circumstances of human life and overcome the deficit of human features such as the early modern period; technology expresses the specific nature of human actions such as enforcement, it is the power which gives man dominion over the world and nature (Fink, 1978, p. 183). So, paradoxically technology controls more and more areas of life and, of course, projects into education: “At no time were the means of education so differentiated, methods of influencing so psychologically perfect, teaching techniques so appropriate in terms of practice and feasibility, educational will so powerful and planned as they are in our present. We can rely less on the effect of simple moral conditions, on cultivating, worshipping powers of social models, customs and paternal manners, attitudes and traditions – we can rely less on the power of family or national spirit. Human education has become a planned project. Educational formation represents a scheduled task, regardless of whether it is an individual child, a social group or an entire nation. Education has become a “technical problem” that is feasible like building a bridge across a river, construction of the house or a city” (Fink, 1978, 138). Strategies of educational formation are thought out to the smallest detail, their extremes can be brainwashing, which is nothing more than “planned, targeted operations of the exploitation of human consciousness” (Fink, 1978, p. 138). Because an engineering method can produce states of consciousness, a disposition to negotiation, manipulation and ultimately controlled fanaticism, there arises the illusion that it gives humanity valid life goals. In fact, Fink argues, although we have technological methods of shaping people more effectively than ever before, we have no goals. Modern man without the prospect of a meaningful and authentic life finds himself in a situation of existential distress. When we have no commonly accepted view of the world but rather a range of sometimes contradictory “world views” of the current political offerings, we need an emergency solution. However, despite the helplessness, pain and a feeling of homelessness which are connected to this nihilism, the possibility of new insight surprisingly opens up for Fink.

Nihilism is in fact an interface, a period in-between, a transition between one world age and a new one which has still not started. This is accompanied by Nietzsche’s “revaluation of all values”, but this does not mean the replacement of one value by another, but realizing that a nihilistic devaluation of values is not due to a contradictory new life feeling, but the result of the same values. We live in a time at the end of an age, because right now values deduce

their own results, because right now the features rise to the surface, which were always their own and which acted secretly and for a long time without us even realizing it. Similarly, Nietzsche revealed that nihilism does not occur only when religion, morality and metaphysics lose their importance, but it is contained therein, it is the actual consummation of the life tendency which they represented. For Fink, nihilism can be something like a new chance to reevaluate education and teaching. Understanding that human existence has no preordained meaning can mean a productive understanding that meaning cannot be reduced to performance, material production, profit, consumption or pleasure. According to Fink, we can find support in a crisis situation as expressed poetically: like a "*common path of educators and pupils in the starless night*" (Fink, 1978, p. 147), whereby the stars are fixed, grounded, and especially interiorized values that underlie a stable society.

Fink's philosophy of education (similar to Nietzsche's philosophy) and his teachings of European nihilism is not in this context just a solution to the partial problems of his time (1960s–1970s). Like Nietzsche in the 19th century, Fink ingeniously and prophetically pointed on the nihilistic character of modern age, on the contradictions that are inherent to it and he revealed the contradictions that make it perish, and whose overcoming allows to rise again.

Consultative Community (*Beratungsgemeinschaft*)

According to Fink, education is something created together, something that is shaped through a living relationship. The basic attitude of the educator must be characterized by *Phronesis*, wisdom, intelligence (Fink, 1994, 167). Education must be treated with discretion, because each seeker must accept the other's right to their own life view and they must consult with each other (Fink, 1978, p. 181). A true educator is always more than just a means of transport between objective cultural content and the soul of a child. The educator is not a means but a mediator. His conduct is not only an individual act but has a "general" meaning; he mediates between the education of an objective spirit and the young people, leading to "participation" in the whole world and the human community, from where they change from being individual to universal.

In a time of crisis, education no longer oscillates around a completed, socially produced meaning of life, but is a mediation of a common search for meaning (Fink, 1978, p. 147). In the framework of education, in an environment of nihilism, everything becomes uncertain and even trivial matters gain the importance of consultation (*Beratung*). Nihilism indirectly makes space

for the emergence of the so-called Consultative Community (*Beratungsgemeinschaft*), within which mutuality and the plurality of opinions are grown. A Consultative Community is characterized by three basic features: firstly, it is solidarity in a shared emergency, secondly it is mutual respect for the freedom of the other and thirdly it is having consideration for one's own existence.

The most important educational event (*Ereignis*) is not the transfer of an already known and given meaning of life, or a thesaurus of values and knowledge, but a joint consultation (*Gemeinsame Beratung*). It was certainly not by coincidence that the effect of Fink's Comeniological interests and studies and the inspiration of Comenius' idea of general consultation on the remedy of human affairs are reflected here. The term *consultatio* has its ontological or cosmic dimension, it restores us into a unity with the world. It is not about consultation where the knowledgeable professional gives "good advice" to the unknowledgeable, such as a tax advisor to his client. It is about "consulting one another" (*Sichmiteinanderberaten*); it is an encounter with a common cause; it is an encounter on the ground of the world; it is a life encounter in which understanding is born collectively. In terms of education it is *Co-existence* (Fink, 1978, p. 217), the common sojourn of inhabitants of the terrestrial world. In it, an adult, in our case a teacher or a parent, is no longer an unchallengeable authority because young people are mostly educated to think for themselves, to verify, judge and criticize given facts. A parent or teacher is no longer the only source of knowledge; therefore, young people do not automatically listen to them, but mull over their claims; they investigate, think through material that is given to them to learn, they support or refute arguments, as we can see in the countless school reforms supporting a student's independence.

Due to the loss of a clear meaning and pathway, education no longer has an authoritative character. It was possible once, when an educator had a clear commanding authority, but as a result of modern nihilism this was lost. For this reason, education no longer points to an exemplary way of life on the part of the educator, or to its acceptance on the part of the educated. The presented sum of knowledge is no longer uncritically accepted.

In the question of values and value orientation, Fink follows Nietzsche's idea that the highest value is life itself. Therefore, man must become accustomed to the mobility, variability and dynamics of life situations that examine every value again and again. In education, this is called a reassessment of all values, always through the lens of life itself. Life situations do not have a clear solution; therefore, we speak of relativism, pluralism, the need to tolerate otherness. Under these circumstances, there may be two major prob-

lems for parents or teachers; one on the side of the educator and the other on the side of the educated. A problem arises when an adult is not in a position to offer a legitimate solution and present it and defend it in a sufficient and conclusive way. The second problem may arise if the educated is not willing or able to cross the plane of so-called common sense and look at a thing critically, or theoretically, i.e. in a broader way than is given to him through a normal experience. Fink is convinced, that today's schools, today's process of education should lead in all fields to scientific thought and action, although it is not entirely clear how the content of knowledge should be reduced to be useable in teaching. Fink writes that today, a science teacher has lost the last vestiges of the halo, which still had a position of importance in the era of believers in technical and scientific progress, when science was understood as a substitute for religion. It is also not possible to restrict the task of today's teachers (in the era of European nihilism) to the mere mediation of theoretical knowledge, to approach education only as tuition. Moments of culture determined by science and technology have a great importance, but the defining motive of education is still human life, the realization of human freedom; Man is still interested in the mysteries of love and death; beauty enchants us, we suffer distress and misery (Fink, 1978, p. 154), and all this is a challenge for today's educators.

Fink's consultative community does not solve all of the problems of education and teaching, so it is sometimes described as illusory, naive (Brinkmann), but the solution in this sense is that the educated person does not leave himself without any advice or help in his concerns, and he does not compel himself to adopt a moral solution that he does not understand. Fink's consultative community gives young people the feeling that they are taken seriously, because they have an equal role to play in finding a solution to the situation. The educator can assist them, without having to pretend to know the solution. Modern psychology has found that children and adolescents prefer to be guided by adults who are not perfect and do not pretend to be. They can be taken as a model that is not unreachable. Unlike an educator in a consultative community that accepts the educated and his opinions, an old authoritative teacher is reluctantly imitated. The consultative community that Fink proposed in the 1970s, fitted the spirit of the times, times of cultural and social change. In today's schools, we see the seeds of a "consultative community" more in pedagogical and psychological counselling and the institution of a school counsellor than in the actual teaching process itself.

Questioning community (*Fragengemeinschaft*)

In terms of modern nihilism, counselling or providing advice remains the main function of in setting life goals. In what Fink calls the emergency of human existence in an encounter of finite beings with the infinity of the cosmos, the need arises for advice. Recommendations are given as proposals of human goals, as open and realized possibilities. Fink called the school form of such counseling *Fragengemeinschaft*. In the ideal form, a “questioning community” discusses the content and form of education; it is not restricted by convention and curriculum. It includes questions relating to current political, scientific, aesthetic and world issues. It opens the possibility not only for discussion, but also for evaluating possible solutions, finding new ones, remembering old solutions and critically evaluating them (Brinkmann 2012, p. 393).

The term “questioning community” (*Frage-Gemeinschaft*) should not be understood as a symmetrical dialogue or discourse without the leadership of a speaker. Moments of asymmetry (moments of stronger argument, the extent of knowledge, persuasiveness) (Fink, 1970, p. 191) are encouraged much more here, only such a discourse enables mutual enrichment, both from the side of pupils as well as teachers (Fink, 1970, p. 206).

However, in practice it appears that this type of questioning community remains foreign to school teaching. Teachers are well aware that the knowledge requirements on children and pupils grow to monstrous proportions; the result is an overload of dates, facts, and empty hypotheses. In such a performance-oriented environment it is difficult to create opportunities to develop a real, non-formal dialogue and include school education as a means of common seeking and common questioning. Asking about life itself is postponed as is a vision for the future rather than an educational reality.

A summary of Fink’s thinking

According to Eugen Fink, the key principle of the continental philosophy of education is that education must be characterized by seeking the meaning of human life. Therefore, Fink speaks repeatedly about the fact that education teaches young people about happiness and unhappiness, good and evil, the meaning of human life.

Fink states that the crisis of education is always associated with a holistic deficit – a cosmic dimension, at a time when education is becoming fragmentary, when it is reduced to preparation for practical life, when it is pragmatically focused on socialization, on the labor market, on professions success,

on pushing through onto an economic environment. Thus it inevitably ends up in a crisis. A symptom of a crisis is the relativism of values, the absence of what is essential – support, which would allow a person to orient himself in his own life. The tragic situation of European nihilism (it lasts from the 1970s until now – today we call it a time of late or postmodern) is that man is clueless at key moments of a heavy life scheduling, in existential situations when it comes to life or death, the meaning of life. A return to authentic education in terms of nihilism can only be attempted by consultative and questioning community, in the mutual co-existence of the inhabitants of the world.

Fink's influence on Czech philosophy of education

Fink was and is a great inspiration for contemporary Czech philosophy of education. A young Jan Patočka, who formed a lifelong friendship with Fink (as is evident from their mutual correspondence), was inspired by many of his ideas. In his texts on the *philosophy of education* he thinks, like Fink, about the importance of philosophy for education and *Pädagogik*. Like Fink, he is convinced that "the science of education has always been a precondition for a certain idea of the meaning of life" (Patočka 1992b, p. 13), that education is vital relationship between the educator and the educated, that there is a given continuity of cultural development and solidarity between the generations. It is an emotionally rich relationship: "The educator must have something, a positive enthusiasm for what gives life meaning and what crowns it" (Patočka, p. 52). In this context, the author talks about a threefold enthusiasm which makes a good educator: objective (to experience the meaning and value of life), social (teaching for the society in which he lives) and subjective (taking care of the pupils entrusted to him). In keeping with Fink's concept of nihilism, an old Patočka, such as in *Europe and the post-Europe era* from the 1970s, thinks of the post-European era as another name for a crisis of values, thinking and sense of loss. Like Fink, Patočka looks for a way of restoring strong links between man and the world, with the community and with others. Patočka gave the basic principle for the spiritual aspirations of European humanity through the Platonic *epimeleia peri tes psyches* – care for the soul. The soul is conceived as a kind of power center between humans, other people and the world as the center of all human possibilities, which enable us to turn to each other, to the other and to the world and meaningfully shape ourselves through this relating and problematizing. A sign of such a soul is its "openness" to others, to the whole, but also the possibility of self-loss or deterioration. Therefore, care for the soul is real knowledge and including a keen

sense of the importance of how one conducts oneself with others (Patočka, 1992a).

Fink inspired other prominent thinkers of philosophy of education, for example Radim Palouš, Patočka's student and a follower. Repeatedly in his works (Palouš, 2008, pp. 25–31), we meet with an analysis of the ontological nature of education as an essentially antinomic, internally contradictory, difficult activity, which leads educators to question the legitimacy of their teaching and tutoring, which can be based only on mutual humanity. A great follower of the works of Eugen Fink is Jiří Michálek. In his remarkable book entitled the *Topology of education*, he shows, following the intentions of Patočka and Fink, that the mission of education is to awaken the joy of life in young people, a zest for life, to encourage them in their own capacity to be through “common counselling”. In the intercommunity between the educator and the educated awakens that what is not given, what I did not know (even an educator is educated): “An educator as a teacher of life teaches along with what he passes on as known and identified also that what he does not know. That which he does not know and can never turn into knowledge, he learns from those he teaches.” (Michálek, 1996, p. 87).

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1.2.3 Uncomfortable Philosophy. Protection of *Pädagogik* from Itself?

Andrej Rajský

The aim of the chapter is to demonstrate a philosophical component of pedagogy as a condition of its scientific autonomy and irreducibility. The author of the chapter argues that the main role of philosophy in the relation to pedagogy is the ability of philosophy to 1) intentionally unify a diversified motley palette of statements on education from the individual particular educational sciences and to 2) identify a unified meaning of a tendentially fragmented, diffuse and multifaceted educational reality. The cooperation of philosophy with pedagogy appears to be inevitable if pedagogy as a science is not to be dispersed in a multitude of empirical attributes and particular approaches.

The problem of pedagogical diversity

Disparity versus unity of pedagogical intention

The notion of *education* (Ger. *Bildung* and *Erziehung*) will always include certain semantic ambiguities stemming from complexity, dynamism, pluriformity and structural disputability of the phenomenon of education. The existence of inconsistency in understanding of the concept of education and an absence of general definition of this notion and similar central pedagogical concepts are agreed on by all educational theoreticians. "Diversity in education is a phenomenon that results both from the multiparadigmatic character of social sciences as well as from worldview plurality" (Pintes, 2014, p. 6). Polysemy associated with education is even more visible in the context of contemporary transcultural, moveable, "liquid" society, "information society" or "knowledge society". A plurality of approaches to gaining knowledge on education is manifested also in a multiplication of sectoral "educational sciences", the palette of which grew at the end of the 20th century (e.g., developmental psychology, sociology of childhood, technology of education, educational evaluation, gender pedagogy, theory of non-formal education, anti-bias pedagogy, school ethnography and ethnology, pedagogical semiology, etc.).

At present, mainly in the Western countries, *Pädagogik* has almost completely become “converted into educational sciences” (Cambi, 2008, p. 3). Contemporary *Pädagogik* as a science is carried out largely by drawing on a variety of originally non-pedagogical knowledge, from psychology, sociology, anthropology, linguistics, history, etc. A rich set of knowledge thus enters the epistemological domain of *Pädagogik* and represents its irreplaceable cognitive base. For example, based on research on cognitive psychology (J. Piaget, L. Vygotskij, etc.), various theories of learning are constructed and subsequently projected onto didactic and pedagogical frameworks. Does this mean that *Pädagogik* has abandoned its scientific status, left the field of academy in order to focus mainly on the practical art of education? Several social indications, as well as explicit statements of representatives of “hard science” would suggest an affirmative answer to this question; namely, that *Pädagogik* has retreated to an exclusive concern with practices of education. This tendency was captured already by W. Flitner who noted, “We do not encounter only ignorance of our discipline, rejection of its claim to scientific level, but also indifference and even hostility” (in Brezinka, 1966, p. 161). Despite this, some integrating tendencies can be found in the educational sciences that constitute *Pädagogik*; tendencies that give *Pädagogik* itself a specific purpose and coherence. This is partly a reaction to the long-term unsustainability that the „disenchanted” social sciences experienced as their institutionalisation deprived them of moral purpose and force. The scientific standing of these individual educational sciences is enhanced when they are seen to pose real questions concerning the influences at play in the education of human beings. Their scientific consideration acquires a specific pedagogical nature at that moment when it poses a question as, for example, in what way do learning or teaching shape and cultivate the educated subjects. This specific sense of pedagogical intentionality accompanies and guides sectoral educational sciences (Ger. *Erziehungswissenschaften*), supporting their claims to coherence and meaning (cf. Pelikán, 2007, p. 33ff.). On this argument *Pädagogik* does not only assimilate and collect knowledge from various sciences. It engages with sectoral theories, passes through them transversally and integrates them, with the intention to distinguish and apply their specific knowledge to education. In this manner, *Pädagogik* gives them its own orientation, and integrates them into its own structure of meaning. Here, a horizontal dimension of the justification of general pedagogy (Ger. *Allgemeine Pädagogik*) is manifested: *Pädagogik* coordinates educational sciences through a certain circular reflexivity, through which it brings its own pedagogical specificity to research. A vertical dimension of justification of general ped-

agogy is discussed below in the section titled "The Meaning of General *Pädagogik*".

The dynamics of the phenomenon of education

The multiplicity and dynamics of the phenomenon of education is encountered also in attempts to stabilise what "education" means. If we speak about education as about a subject of general *Pädagogik* we mean a bipolar complex of education on the one hand and formation on the other, in which we emphasise either one or the other pole. We tend to oscillate between them. However, we can never conceive or thematise them, or practically operationalise them in isolation from each other, education without formation and formation without education. Education (*educatio, Erziehung*) has a rather social and institutional character, emphasis is increasingly on conformity, companionship, transfer of social and cultural values, norms and patterns of behaviour. Education highlights the role of an educator and the educator's distance (functional and moral authority) in the relationship towards his or her students; it refers to stability of a certain moral tradition with regard to social cohesion; it meets the requirements of cultural continuity. Education applies authoritatively the demands of generally accepted, enlightened normativity towards the imperfect subjects who need to be "led out of the shadow" and ushered into civilisation. "Education is how specific social forms are maintained throughout generations (...). Education transforms an individual to a member of the whole and the whole is a mean of education of an individual" (Jaspers in: Jirsa, 2015, p. 60). Formation (*formatio, Bildung*) by contrast, is understood as a process of forming a human subject, where a teacher and a student stand on one level (albeit with different roles), together facing what addresses both of them, awaiting their engagement. In a student, inner capabilities are woken, strengths from the student's own resources are mobilised, the relationship between a teacher and a student is a relationship of a "loving struggle" (Jaspers, *ibid.*, p. 61). A person thus acquires his or her own form, or shape. The connectivity and inseparability of both processes, education and formation (Ger. *Erziehung* and *Bildung*), comes to the fore especially in the phenomenological analysis of education as a *formation of a human subject*, however, it follows the classical humanistic tradition of the idea of cultivation. The notion of formation and cultivation (*Bildung*, introduced by Herder in 1774) was understood in German classical philosophy in two ways, as cultivation of an individual and as collective education of the society from which culture emerged. Cultivation in this broader context is perceived

as an anthropological and ethical concept: the cultivation of a human, by which an individuality is shaped into a mature and morally beautiful personality in a constant confrontation with the world (Gutschmidt in: Chotaš, Prázný, Hejduk et al., 2015, p. 28). Free cultivation “supports *humanitas*, i.e. openness to reasons of the others, understanding, a thoughtful view of the others and their standpoint, honesty, discipline and continuity of life” (Jaspers, cited work p. 63). A human is a contradictory creature and their contradiction is at the same time the existential structure of human existence as such. An inner dialectic movement of change takes place in the centre of the person who experiences such cultivation, in a tension between circumstance and challenge, between actuality and potentiality, between stability and endlessness, between safety and freedom. Eugen Fink summed up these dynamic contradictions of education and formation in six well-known antinomies of education (1992, pp. 11–19). The first antinomy is created by the tension *help – manipulation*. The educational influence of a teacher meets the personal claim of a student to individual authenticity. The antinomy arises especially in relation to issues of ethics, morality, life values, less in the field of vocational training. The second antinomy is related to the personal agency of a teacher and is depicted by the binomium *power – powerlessness* of an educator. The educator uses their educational power – a power that can have transformative benefits or that be abused by manipulation of the student, or by imposing the teacher’s own interpretations on the student. On the other hand teachers can feel a painful powerlessness when their best efforts fail, or when negative consequences of their actions cannot be prevented. The third antinomy is presented by the word pair *borders – borderlessness* of education. In education, we always somehow plan, set objectives and procedures, we construct, but on the other hand, education is never completed; it is principally non-definite and open, breaking apart borders and our best-laid plans. The fourth antinomy is determined by the relationship *uniqueness – generality* in education. A teacher mediates general demands of culture and society, following a curriculum, requiring the prescribed knowledge and fulfilment of rules; but at the same time a teacher faces each unique student with a particular fate, whose individuality needs to be respected and appreciated. The fifth antinomy reflects the difficulty of modern schools: *education for profession – education for humanity*. Here, the tension arises from a conflict between the demands of professional qualification, professional training and the demands of general education, including the issues of morality, coexistence and meaning. Fink warns against falling into extremes, on the one hand, against purely professional learning of practical knowledge and

skills, on the other hand, against hollow moralising, abstract or emotional verbalisation without content. Finally, the sixth antinomy is represented by the relation *limitations – possibilities* of education. Education takes place within certain limits – the historical determinations of one`s own culture, natural conditions of the environment, human constitution, limited freedom of teachers and students. However, in spite of this, a human can be formed, human possibilities can be creatively updated, an inner transformation can be stimulated patiently. There is no "must" in education, however, we may accomplish a lot.

The Czech philosopher of education Radim Palouš describes the paradoxality of education (*paradoxon* = a surprising statement, unexpected judgement contradicting a common expectation) as follows: "Acceptance of one`s own limitations and at the same time openness to possibilities beyond the borders of the possible is the basic step of educational service" (2011, p. 24; on paradoxes of education also in Palouš, 2009). Education is always a new event that does not have a linear shape of movement. The ambition of *Pädagogik* is to interpret this movement reasonably and direct it meaningfully.

The philosophical component of *Pädagogik*

A co-ordinating and "sense-giving" role for *Pädagogik* among the apparent disparity of particular education sciences would combine a descriptive-analytic dimension (stating "what is", *propositions*) with a normative-professional dimension (identifying "what should be", proposals)¹. This confluence would provide *Pädagogik* with its intellectual coherence and its practical orientations. *Pädagogik* cannot do without critical reflection on educational objectives and proposals. This kind of reflection is provided by philosophy. Wolfgang Brezinka, already in 1966, pointed out that disguising the normativity of *Pädagogik* by way of seemingly descriptive concepts damages the scientific character of *Pädagogik* if it is presented as an exact science. "It is (...) a command of intellectual honesty not to veil our peda-

¹ The so-called prohibition of prescription in sciences was formulated already in 1740 by David Hume in his work *A Treatise of Human Nature* (III, 1.1), where he stated that norms and conclusion cannot be reached inductively because there is a fundamental difference between normativity and description. There is no causal relationship between the factual (descriptive) and the normative (prescriptive). Whoever claims it, commits a so-called naturalistic fallacy. Naturalistic fallacy was described in detail by G. E. Moore in 1903. A clear distinction between *propositions* and proposals was provided in 1949 by L. J. Russel.

gological assessments and instructions into a little veil of science, into statements about [empirical] actuality” (p. 162). Questions referring to “what should be”, i.e. questions referring to objectives, intentions and meaning are also posed by philosophical meta-reflection that – according to Brezinka – is the competency of moral philosophy of education (ibid., p. 165).

It is not possible to thematise educational actions without including intentionality. Values that our intentionality turns to are to be properly perceived as attributes with own “objectivity”, as transcendental features of (educational) reality that are given to a cognitive and moral subject in order to be distinguished and accepted. A specific role of education is to provide a subject (a pupil, student, *homo educandus*) with an ability to direct their intentionality towards something of identified cultural value and appreciate it. The philosophical component of *Pädagogik*, mainly in the epistemological and axiological dimension, provides it with the possibility to coordinate the knowledge of particular educational sciences towards what makes *Pädagogik* coherent and specific. That is to say it helps to illuminate and direct the contributions of individual educational sciences to the kind of cultivation described earlier as *Bildung*. “Philosophy asks each [educational] science about its status and goal of its demands and thus, philosophy can reveal even a certain dogmatism behind a seeming objectivity of statements and concepts” (Reboul in Cambi, 2008, p. 18). Philosophy (of education) is situated in the centre of the complexity and diversity of pedagogical knowing as a key and specific source of knowledge. It strengthens a capacity for self-reflection on the part of *Pädagogik*, distinguishing it from any hasty identification with empirical sciences. Such an identification would mean the loss of the unifying meaning of education, scattering of partial knowledge and loss of the very legitimacy of *Pädagogik*.

The driving force of philosophy is its mission to problematise seemingly definite statements and reveal underlying assumptions and presuppositions to reason. *Pädagogik*, its complex corpus of interdisciplinary contributions, includes philosophy of education as its crucial and permanent element; an element which enables pedagogy to maintain a reflexive, autoreflexive and metareflexive viewpoint (Cambi, ibid., p. 7). Before *Pädagogik* became engaged with analytical, phenomenological and hermeneutical currents of contemporary philosophy (compare the final part of this chapter) philosophy of education was focused on formal aspects of general *Pädagogik* (*allgemeine Pädagogik*) – mainly on educational objectives and means of education, clarifying distinctions, and exploring rational interpretations of current discrepancies.

In the last decades of the 20th century, philosophy of education en-

gaged extensively in the analysis of pedagogical discourse, examining its logic and language, investigating *Pädagogik* and its features, analysing the meaning of concepts such as education and formation. With regard to educational objectives, it dealt not only with their determination, it focused on modalities of their selection, their justification and classification to organic wholes. These areas became increasingly variable and problematic and therefore, philosophical reflection became a permanent companion of *Pädagogik*.

Even at present, philosophical thinking innerves the organism of *Pädagogik* and clarifies its eidetic structures. In the context of disparity and polymorphism of educational sciences, it came to represent a protection and guidance of the character, functions and autonomy of *Pädagogik* itself. Self-reflection in the area of *Pädagogik*, as well as other social sciences and humanities is one of the most current challenges. Philosophy of education plays a central role there – despite its respect to particularities and sectorial knowledge, it critically validates, challenges, radicalises them in order to offer a freed rational viewpoint to *Pädagogik*.

Philosophy of education itself had to cope with its own metaphysical-deontological and tendentially totalising metamorphoses dating back to the period before origination of "educational sciences". In a close connection to traditional enculturation *Pädagogik* it introduced unified and complex theoretical models of education and formed a matrix for *pedagogical worldviews* (idealistic, neo-Thomist, Marxist, etc.). Traditional universalistic *Pädagogik* had a very weak bond with humanities, formed in the early-19th century, thus, it increasingly held on to the classical philosophy, which it perceived as a framework worldview resource of own pedagogical discourse. In the countries of the Western Europe, names of notable educational thinkers historically (17th–19th century) coincide with the names of notable philosophers (J. Locke, J. J. Rousseau, I. Kant). In the Central European pedagogical tradition, the position of the authority of J. A. Comenius and a state-guaranteed educational model, introduced by the Theresian reforms (1777), were dominant. One of the highlights of this philosophical-pedagogical duality was the case of G. Gentile (1875–1944), an Italian neo-idealist philosopher and pedagogue, minister and reformer of education. He rejected any "naturalisation" of *Pädagogik* through positive sciences (physiology, sociology, history of institutions) and understood it as a philosophical discipline capable of shaping the autonomous spirit of students.

The rise of educational sciences in the 20th century forced philosophy to redefine its role in relationship to *Pädagogik* – contemporary philosophy of education sees its role increasingly as a problematizing one, in-

cluding critical, interpretative, phenomenological and integrative tasks. It critically reviews the concepts of pedagogical epistemology and axiology. It warns against dangers that in a desire for unification of *Pädagogik* may create new forms of totality; i.e. a kind of hegemony of empirical sciences. *Pädagogik*, similarly to other social sciences, is surrounded by the fear of the absence of sense, the fear of being scattered in historical time or being reduced to management of empirical data. *Pädagogik* defends itself against these tendencies in a legitimate, but often a counter-productive way. Contemporary conceptions of education reach again for new definite interpretations. These interpretations include, for example, functionalist paradigm of multimedia and electronic education, neoliberal dictate of labour market or neoconservative models of national protection.

The philosopher J. Michálek explains that the role of philosophy is not to create a firm worldview as public often believes:

A world view (...) arranges experience in a completely certain direction and subordinates it all, narrowing and closing up human life, depriving it of the fact that it is not for granted. Philosophy, on the contrary, always opens, it is a beginning, places a human in an open field of possibilities through enquiring and always overcomes itself at the same time (Michálek, 1996, p. 17).

Heidegger makes a similar argument in his late essay „The End of Philosophy and the Task of Thinking” (orig. 1964), where he states the decay of Platonic metaphysics and the need to return philosophical thinking back to the place of unhidden enquiry. However, it needs to be emphasised that the role of philosophy is not only to unmask threats and catch an author of a statement contradicting themselves or convict them of “evil intention”. Philosophy reaches further. It follows “the wholeness of being that regards a human as a human; the truth, wherever it shines, it grasps a human more fundamentally than any scientific knowledge” (Jaspers, 1996, p. 9).

Subsequently, the remarkable thing about philosophy is: If we avoid every deceit, uncover every disguise, penetrate every falsehood and if we proceed with a clear sight uncompromisingly further and subject even our own criticism to criticism, then finally, this criticism is not destructive. Rather, it seems that the foundation that shines through to us shows as if from itself (Jaspers, 2002, p. 145).

Philosophy of education makes us question and justify rational peda-

gological assertions; not to allow ourselves to be deceived and not to remain in a self-deceit.

The attempts of modern times to define education exactly and completely, from the position of *Pädagogik* have been motivated either by political expediency (ideological reductions of education, indoctrination, school as a tool in totalitarian as well as so-called liberal regimes) or by a lasting inferiority complex in relation to natural sciences (normative determination of scientism according to the criterion of *ideae clarae et distinctae*, or the contemporary paradigm of evidence-based research, etc.). Other false steps on the part of *Pädagogik* include psychological simplifications that encourage educators to grasp moveable human reality by finite terms, providing the illusion of intellectual satisfaction and practical power control. European philosophy has regularly challenged the comforts of stagnation and a safe, stable structure of education as a "production of a human". It has always acted as *signum contradictionis*, as an internal disturbing corrective even despite the tendency to be generally perceived from the outside as a violator of peace, safety, order, system, totality. *Pädagogik* needs philosophy if it wants to stay an autonomous and free science about the education of a free and co-responsible human. This stands in marked contrast to any *Pädagogik* understood as an implicit tool of disciplination, indoctrination, socialisation, homogenisation, bureaucratisation and technocratisation (cf. Cambi, 2009, p. 19).

The meaning of general *Pädagogik* (*Allgemeine Pädagogik*)

Pedagogy originated as a practical educational art for parents and teachers and when it wanted to justify own beliefs, at the beginning of modern times, it sought for them in the area of philosophical and theological anthropology. Accordingly, it was carried out as applied logic and applied ethics at first (late 1700s), i.e. as coordination of the discipline of reason and the discipline of will. This practice gave rise to a triangular model of pedagogical disciplines. In this model anthropology provided answers to the question who is a human, pedagogical teleology represented *what a human should become* and pedagogical methodology connected and reconciled these two moments. This triangular model was adopted and developed by an author who is considered the founder of *Pädagogik* as a modern science, J. F. Herbart (1776–1841), who introduced a theory in which the first question is answered by psychology, the second is answered by ethics and their mutual tension is bridged by "general pedagogy" (*Allge-*

meine Pädagogik). His masterpiece *Allgemeine Pädagogik aus dem Zweck der Erziehung* (1806) is also known by this title. Under Kant's influence he places *Pädagogik* among philosophical sciences, however, he considers a conceptually processed experience for the base of pedagogical knowledge. He also refers to *Pädagogik* as to applied ethics, i.e. as a science that deduces its own objective from theoretical ethics; the objective being virtue, including rational and moral qualities of a character. General *Pädagogik* is, according to him, an applied science whose fundamental concept is perfectibility or educability (*Bildsamkeit*) of a human being. Besides, it is a synthetic science that connects two basic processes: a process of education through instruction (*Unterricht*) and a process of moral education through moral guidance (*Zucht*).

In spite of the fact that the theoretical position of Herbart and his followers found critics and opponents soon, up to the end of the 1960s, the scientific status and epistemological definition of general *Pädagogik* were not fundamentally questioned. However, a shudder occurred with the rise of empirical educational sciences, during the late 20th century, which rejected the then prevailing monopoly of humanistic spiritual-scientific (*geisteswissenschaftliche*) *Pädagogik* and subjected it to dramatic criticism (cf. Winkler, 1994, but also Brezinka, 1971).

Remorse against this “queen of pedagogical sciences” had two prongs. Firstly, it was charged that General *Pädagogik* originated from a need to provide some academic training to teachers in the 19th century. Secondly, it was alleged that a “general” subject of *Pädagogik* does not exist (cf. Stępkowski, 2010, pp. 143–146).

The first critical camp pointed out that academic General *Pädagogik* was devised as a practical course of teacher training at a time of institutionalisation of education in the state system of schooling. It was argued that its purpose was “disciplinarianisation” of teachers' training in order to ensure continuity of the system. General *Pädagogik*, on this account, had a textbook character, not a scientific one. It represented a complex of “educational dogmas”. The second camp of criticism of General *Pädagogik* accused it of: uselessness (decline in scientific outcomes of this discipline); non-functionality (no direct connection to educational practice); outdatedness (as a result of the decline of speculative sciences) and insubstantiality (it loses its legitimacy with the rise of educational science).

Together with the criticism of “generality” of *Pädagogik* from the standpoint of empirical educational sciences at the end of the 1960s, criticism also arose from the standpoint of emancipatory (critical) pedagogy. According to this standpoint liberation of a human is a permanent pedagogical

cal imperative, either in the area of educational practice or in the area of pedagogical theory. A key principle of pedagogy is emancipation of an individual from diverse kinds of addiction – to make a person freer, more autonomous, more aware. Emancipatory pedagogy followed neo-Marxist and anarchist social movements related to 1968 in the West. Emancipation can be affirmative (positive) or reflexive (negative). Affirmative emancipation attempts to replace an existing criticised state by a new state; however, if it establishes this new state as the best or ideal one, it tendentially heads towards closing of the dialectic process, its immobilisation. Thus, it contradicts its own emancipation principle in this manner. Reflexive emancipation is more coherent and more in accordance with inspirations of postmodernism – it is a process constantly open to a new unknown future that beckons the best efforts of educators (in *Pädagogik*, e.g., Klaus Mollenhauer). Raffaele Laporta call this principle, according to which the aim of education is to make a pupil as free as possible, *pedagogical absolute* (1996). However, as Dietrich Benner (2008), a leading contemporary German educational thinker points out, the greatest weakness of emancipatory pedagogy is the fact that on the one hand it negatively rails against persisting stereotypes, but neglects to explore constructive alternatives.

What state is general *Pädagogik* in at the beginning of the 21st century?

To start with, there is a rather impassioned debate taking place. Typically it is viewed as an introduction of sorts to pedagogical thinking, but an introduction which needs to be done left behind in favour of higher studies in individual educational sciences. General *Pädagogik* is considered a remnant of the past, where philosophy and humanistic conceptions of being human prevailed. At present, both are losing their legitimacy under the pressure of technoscience and its functionalistic logic (cf. Cajthaml, 2010, p. 132ff.). These latter penetrate the entire sphere of education, from institutions of political-administrative management to didactic-pedagogical practice in village schools. A conviction that pedagogy is a social science and as such is associated with technology and social system appeared already in the 1970s. Inherent in this conviction is the attitude that pedagogy needs to abandon its bond with philosophy and its inclusion within humanities. Pedagogical theory and practice moved further away from *Pädagogik* with the advent of new information technologies and their functionalistic (engineering) absorption into the structure of social institutions. General *Pädagogik* is increasingly perceived as an obstacle to the development of rationalised education, where education and formation, approximately at the turn of the centuries, are guided by the principle of functionality and effectiveness (e.g., Scheerens, 2000). A strong pressure on technologisation

of education, teaching and instruction comes particularly from the technological environment. Techno-implementation is generally believed to be a sign of progress and unification and uniformity of systems are accepted in its favour. In such a context general *Pädagogik*, together with its reflexive role, loses any apparent meaning; pedagogical technology, productive and reproductive practice take its place (Cambi, 2009, p. 19).

Despite this (or perhaps as a result of it) we can still find followers and advocates of the concept of general *Pädagogik*, who demonstrate serious arguments. It should be noted that the very term general *Pädagogik* can be misleading. “Generality” here properly refers more to a horizontal dimension of collection and inclusion into a sort of a joint set. This distinguishes it from any suggestion that “general” means unspecific, thus empty. That vertical dimension was philosophical, in that it sought, in Kantian manner, to do the philosophical groundwork of providing secure foundations for *Pädagogik*. This terminological difficulty in the term “general” is pointed out by several authors who suggest using preferably the term *basic* or *fundamental Pädagogik*. (A. Baroni, A. Bellingreri, G. Mari, C. J. G. Kilian, H. Henz) or “fundamentals of education” (M. Nowak, B. Śliwerski). Wilhelm Flitner, already in the 1930s, used the term *systematic Pädagogik* (Flitner, In Stępkowski, 2010, p. 145). The attribute “systematic” here does not denote orderliness or schematics, but refers to the relation with basic sources of pedagogical thinking. A contemporary German thinker, Marian Heitger (ibid.), uses the term “*systematische Pädagogik*” in a similar manner; he explicitly identifies it with general *Pädagogik*. Other contemporary advocates of general *Pädagogik* and its original scientific meaning include Dietrich Benner, Helmut Heim, Klaus Prange. Benner, already in 1978, summoned a pedagogical congress in Bonn that gave rise to a declaration entitled “The Courage to Educate” (orig. *Mut zur Erziehung*), condemning mistakes that spring from any rejection of foundations of *Pädagogik*. It was already Herbart’s intention to make *Pädagogik* independent, based on “a pure idea of *Pädagogik* about itself”. Rolf Ruschke-Rhein (In Stępkowski, 2010, p. 154) introduces general *Pädagogik* as a meta-theory of educational science; a kind of a “framework theory” whose tasks are: to usher to pedagogical thinking, to grasp and interpret main pedagogical concepts, to provide theoretical reasons to *Pädagogik* as a science, to connect research outcomes of educational sciences with educational practice. According to Brenner, too, the rejection of general pedagogical, i.e. fundamental understanding of education actually means giving up on any scientific status for educational science. General *Pädagogik*, on Benner’s view and those who agree with him, has maintained two basic functions: 1. It represents a nec-

essary resource for critical reflection in educational sciences as well as a reference resource of thinking for pedagogical practice; 2. It provides a necessary basis for discussion of educational ideas in the public sphere and provokes social discourse in the area of education and pedagogical institutions (Benner, 2008).

Whether the meaning of general *Pädagogik* will be lost in favour of technology and cybernetics (cf. Heidegger, 1993, p. 11), or its status in the dialogue with philosophy will be upheld, depends on the interpretations of *Pädagogik* itself that come to prevail in the future: if the key to the interpretation of the world is taken to be formal rationality and the efficiency of systems, corresponding pedagogical (or rather scientific-technological) solutions will follow. But contrasting pedagogical solutions follow from interpretations which give prominence in encounters with the world to features like: astonishment, awe before complexity, openness to the new and the different. The decision between these two models depends on a critical reflection that will guide our rational choices. The philosophical approach to education provides valuable suggestions to pedagogy so that it can keep its dignity and autonomy in spite of the surrounding and subjecting instrumentalisation of knowing.

Philosophy cautious about delegitimation of *Pädagogik*

In education two different but inextricably linked processes and their respective tasks are connected: "conformative" on the one hand and "formative" on the other². The conformative aspects of education are related to socialisation –these adapt a human to the society and its culture, they mediate patterns, norms, cultural archetypes and models of thinking. Conformative elements of education prevailed more in the past, in the situation of stronger social ties, hierarchical roles and social authority. Pedagogy, thus, often became a means of hegemonisation and homogenisation. The formative component of education vigorously re-appears in pedagogical

² The terminological distinction of conformativeness and formativeness is created by the author. However, it is based on the distinction by Franco Cambi (2008, 2009), who differentiates the Italian notions *educazione* and *formazione*, including their original semantic contents. *Educazione* is understood as an enculturation-acculturation process, as an effort to conform to a pre-determined social reality, of which an educand should become a valid part. *Formazione* is understood as personal educational and instructional forming in the tradition of *Bildung*, where the subject itself becomes responsible for their own "image of a human".

thinking of the second half of the 20th century. Formativeness of education is associated with the identification and cultivation of personal qualities, and thus with the uniqueness of each individual. Formative education, *cura sui*, care for one's own development, which respects *Bildung*, spiritual formation of a person, is deeply rooted in the history of the European reflection of a human, particularly in the history of philosophy of education. Philosophy of education, in its diverse forms, since the beginnings of the Greek *paideia* up to some contemporary interpretations of education, represents a warning and protection of *Pädagogik* from its own abuses. These are abuses that often go unrecognised even by educators and students themselves – due to ignorance, or neglect. There are resources, or orientations, in Continental philosophy which can fruitfully address such ignorance and neglect, and which can eliminate and strengthen the work that *Pädagogik* has to do. What follow here is a brief survey of four such orientations.

Existentialism

The influence of the philosophy of existence on culture in general, as well as on pedagogical, thinking has been significant. A fundamental representative of the Philosophies of existence was Martin Heidegger, who emerged from the environment of phenomenological philosophy and focused his effort on the analysis of the structure of being-human (*Dasein*). Authentic being-human involves a disclosure and an embrace of one's ownmost possibilities, as distinct from those taken over from or imposed by others (crowd, society, etc.). A human understands their being as a movement, i.e. as an existence in various ways: as being in the world (*In-der-Welt-Sein*), since a human being dwells in the world, in the universe of meaning that represents their system of interpretation of everything that is going on in their life and around them; as being with others (*Mit-Sein*), which expresses the relationship dimension, within which their life is structured; as being towards death (*Sein-zum-Tode*) because their dwelling is characterised by randomness, timeliness and finitude, however, in conscious of such finitude they can give deep and significant authenticity to personal existence. Thus, authentic being human is not something that is conquered once and for all; rather it is a recurring challenge, involving recognition and ownership of one's ownmost responsibilities. Similarly, Karl Jaspers points out that a human bounces back from the established and dull structures of life only in borderline situations in which they experience their own crash. According to Jaspers, a human is not enough for themselves, they want to overcome

themselves in transcendence to "the other" (a human, God, world). Martin Buber develops especially the idea of dialogical relationship between "I" (*Ich*) and You (*Du*) that cannot be reduced to a material relation without losing its authentic humanity. He applies this principle also to educational relationship: a genuine formation relationship is necessarily personal, not material. The theme of personal relationality and dialogic communication became a key topic of representatives of European personalistic philosophy and *Pädagogik* (E. Mounier, J. Maritain, L. Pareyson, L. Stefanini, R. Guardini, etc.). Several notable thinkers, who elaborated the so-called *Pädagogik* of existence, have been oriented to the philosophy of existentialism, such as P. Wust, E. Grisebach, T. Ballauf, O. F. Bollnow, K. Schaller. The main idea of a *Pädagogik* that is illuminated by a "philosophies of existence" perspective is the emphasis on qualitative aspects of human subjectivity, self-development and authenticity of life.

Poststructuralism and deconstruction

Poststructuralism developed from structuralism, whose basic thesis was that knowledge is gained not by analysis of individual elements and singular events but through revealing social, linguistic and cultural structures; that is to say, by identification of inner formal relationships within complex systems. Ferdinand de Saussure, a linguist, is considered the founder; however, principles of such an approach are found already in W. von Humboldt³. The structuralist paradigm, however, hit a radical anti-essentialist movement of poststructuralism, called also deconstruction (J. Derrida; variants of deconstructive argument can be associated with the others: M. Foucault, G. Deleuze, J. Baudrillard, J. F. Lyotard). Poststructuralists reject a holistic structure and the system of inner contradictions and highlight particularity, plurality, unrepeatability and uniqueness, difference. In general, these authors are called "postmodernist". Individual authors do not form a single complex philosophical movement but together they are characterised by the fact that they reject any gnoseological or axiological privilege to a human. Symbolic forms precede subjectivity and create it, not vice versa. The representatives of poststructuralism mostly reject originality of consciousness as well as the ontological dimension of

³ The concept of a structure was defined for the first time by the anthropologist C. Lévy-Strauss, who was initially influenced by E. Durkheim. J. Piaget can be included to structuralists, too. Instead of examining causality (evolution) and diachronicity of phenomena structuralists focused on the synchronic analysis of organic structures (language, mythology, religion, culture, psyche).

being, criticise dogmatism of any kind, including Positivism. The main task of deconstructive *Pädagogik* would be to unmask and demystify “grand narratives”; i.e. normative idea constructions that have settled in “permanent” conceptions of *Pädagogik* during the modern era. Every educational phenomenon is perceived as a text that needs to be “archeologically” decomposed and re-constructed. *Pädagogik* thus becomes a forming theory: it abandons an abstract “logocentric” view and acquires an idiographic, genetic, re-constructive view oriented towards an in-depth description of dynamics of a selected educational event. From this point of view, education is not limited only to organised processes and structures but it also refers to all formation (intentional and non-intentional) situations that have an influence on construction of a human subject. Education is understood as a cultural and social constructing of a pupil that takes place in an explicit but mainly implicit (tacit and diffuse) manner.

Phenomenology

Starting with *Logical Investigations* (1900) by E. Husserl a new philosophical and later a broader humanistic phenomenological movement appeared in the early 20th century, reacting foremost to a technicisation of Western thinking. The phenomenological approach is motivated by an intention to bring freedom and creativity of a human back into the centre of thinking, going beyond all the determinisms and schematisms. Phenomenological philosophy emphasises fundamental trust in a human – the contact with reality (the world beyond me) can be carried out in an authentic manner despite all the objectifying forces. The initial motto of phenomenology – *Back to the things themselves* – demonstrates a desire for concreteness of thinking; for direct access to consciousness and what it discloses. A human is driven by intention to examine their relationship with the other, i.e. the world. The central notion of phenomenology is intentionality, the basic power of human endeavour aimed at giving sense and meaning to things entering the horizon of consciousness. The consciousness of a human is always “transcendental”, that is to say, “leaning out” of “I” to the world grasp the essence (*eidōs*) of things. Consciousness assisted by “eidetic” intuition identifies various “ontological regions” that are cognised by a specific way regarding their inner character – as they let themselves be properly disclosed to consciousness. In this manner, consciousness is able to examine also the region of education as a specific area of disclosing the human and its possibilities. Husserl did not deal with this matter directly, however; he opened theoretical possibilities

that many of his followers took up, developing – among other things – phenomenology of education (H. Arendt, M. Scheler, E. Lévinas, E. Fink, J. Patočka, J. Pešková, R. Palouš and others).

The Czech philosopher Jan Patočka analysed the existence of a human in the structure of the world and differentiated three of its basic movements (Patočka, 2009). The first of these is *a movement of anchoring*, or acceptance. By this movement a human is placed in what precedes him; i.e. in the world and in a cultural community. The movement is associated with health care, satisfaction of basic needs and incorporation into the society. The movement of anchoring is oriented towards the past. The second movement is called *reproduction, i.e. work and struggle*. By this movement a human prolongs and multiplies their existence through instrumental activity, defends themselves from being called into question, consolidates their place in the world. The movement of struggle is oriented towards the present. The third is the *movement of breakthrough and truth* when a human experiences a shaking of his or her present sense, and encounters a questioning of certainties. Only in this situation of uncertainty do humans experience freedom and the relationship to truth, which is required from them by responsibility. The movement of truth is also called the "care for the soul" and it is oriented towards the future. On Patočka's argument, all three movements are included in education and formation; however, only the third one represents a real forming of the spirit, i.e. a formation in the sense of *Bildung* that promotes a real encounter with questions of meaning in life. Discovery of this meaning is assisted by philosophy through its efforts to get behind appearances to questions of meaning. *Pädagogik*, on this view is then a way to self-understanding of a human.

Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics is a philosophical and linguistic movement that is genetically linked to phenomenology, existentialism as well as to deconstruction. Contemporary hermeneutics draws from the existential analysis of "being in the world", which is always an interpreting being. To interpret means to give meaning to phenomena, to create a universe of sense and to construct symbolic systems. This is not a technical skill for decoding specific texts but a direct existential setting of a human. The founder of the hermeneutics which grew to maturity in the 20th century is considered W. Dilthey (1833–1911), who also inspired origination of the so-called spiritual-scientific pedagogy (Ger. *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*). Interpretation of signs is not considered a one-time act but a process that takes place in cycles,

or spirals, in the so-called hermeneutic circle between pre-understanding and new understanding. This idea was elaborated by M. Heidegger and more particularly by H.-G. Gadamer. According to Gadamer, not only the interpretation of a text is hermeneutical but also the interpretation of all human knowledge. Each act of cognition is a part of a historically-influenced intentional framework. It is possible to decode a “text”, which can be also a work of art, a historical event or a social institution, only in this framework. Interpretative cognition cannot be “objective” in the sense of so-called scientific objectivity; i.e. removed from the hermeneutical spiral, and therefore, it is active and transformational in relation to reality. In this perspective, the languages of religion, poetry and education are the textual structures. Hermeneutical discourse has offered to pedagogical reflection a philosophical and methodological contribution for the examination of meanings and objectives of education, and of the interpretative dynamics that take place between teacher and student. As a matter of fact, the hermeneutical cycle stands beside the resource of every theory and every meaningful action. From the pedagogical point of view, every educational intervention is a disclosure of new meanings in the context of a relationship and communication. The following authors can be considered representatives of a hermeneutical spiritual-scientific *Pädagogik*: M. Frischeisen-Köhler, H. Nohl, T. Litt, E. Spranger, W. Flitner, O. F. Bollnow, E. Weniger, M. J. Langefeld, J. Derbolav, W. Klafki (cf. Lassahn, 1992, p. 23). The central notion of hermeneutical *Pädagogik* is an educational, or pedagogical relationship that is always unique, life-related, subjective, taking place in time. Pedagogic science is then, in principle, a qualitative, historical and biographical science.

Conclusion

Is there a difference between continental and Anglo-Saxon educational thinking? I believe that even though both traditions complement each other, mix and overlap at present, it is still possible – with a certain simplification – to identify particular lines of differentiation.

Philosophical *pathos*, especially in the Platonic European tradition, dares to disrupt the paradigm of “detached description”, spread mainly in the Anglophone scientific world, in order to emphasise and stress aporias, limits, gaps, surges, antimonies and dialectic movements of the forming human spirit. Continental *Pädagogik*, together with Continental philosophy, is traditionally towards humanistic ideals. However, in

contrast to the Anglo-Saxon thinking, it is more susceptible to totalising transformations.

The analytic and critical tenor of traditional Anglo-Saxon scholarship keeps the image of a human in "down-to-earth" realism, directing pedagogy at pragmatic aims (A. J. Ayer, Gilbert Ryle, J. L. Austin; in philosophy of education: R. S. Peters, P. H. Hirst); however, it deprives philosophy of speculative creativity and pedagogy of "fulfilment of dreams about human".

Philosophy of education, in both cases, prevents pedagogical hypotheses from becoming dogmas, knowledge from being closed into flat schemes, from ceasing to be challenging at a certain point in time. In other words, philosophy of education protects *Pädagogik* from itself.

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1.2.4 The Allegory of Learning in Comenius' *Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart*

Jan Hábl

Introduction: into the Labyrinth of scholarship

Over the course of time there have been many "manuals" for how to educate, ennoble and sometimes even transform the individual for the good of society, and they are still being written. We are not the first to raise the question of what it means "to be rightly educated." Nor are we the first to sense a crisis in education. We know a lot, but we find difficult to know how to educate so that it's "good"; that is, beneficial rather than detrimental to the student, also to society and its wider welfare.

Many problems which beset education today were identified in a unique way by J. A. Comenius nearly four hundred years ago in his most famous work *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart*.¹ This book touches on themes that are still relevant. What should the proper motivation for learning be? What is the ultimate mission of the scholar? How to prevent the fragmentation of knowledge? How to find unity in the diversity of knowledge, or, *uni-versitatis*? How to educate the "whole person" to be knowledgeable of things, to control them (not be controlled by them), and use those things for the benefit of everyone?

The concept of a holistic education was repeatedly presented and discussed in many of Comenius' works (compare Hábl, 2015), but the consolation allegory *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart* became his favourite work even among common people, because of its narrative form that is easily readable and understandable.

¹ In 1678, John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was first published. It is a spiritual allegory about a pilgrim who wanders through the world trying to escape its vanity; after many adventures he eventually reaches the "Celestial City," which is salvation. About half century before *Pilgrim's Progress* (in 1631) Jan Amos Comenius' *Labyrinth of the world and paradise of the heart* was published. It is an allegory about a pilgrim who wanders through the world trying to escape its vanity and seeking the "highest good" in human life; he eventually finds it in the Paradise of the heart. Interestingly, almost everybody in the English-speaking world knows the Bunyan's book, but almost nobody knows Comenius' book. The reasons are obvious; first is the language in which each work was written. Second is that the unfortunate circumstances of the Counter-reformation in 17th Century Bohemia doomed Comenius' literature to oblivion. This article, therefore, may serve the English reader as a short introduction to a comparative study of the late Renaissance genre of didactic allegory.

The goal of this chapter is to explore more closely Comenius' thoughts on the ideal education, to analyse how he presents this ideal and to review some current problems of education in the light of his insights.

Comenius and his notion of scholarship

Comenius' thoughts on society were markedly influenced by the uncertainty and changeableness of the time. The Reformation and religious wars throughout Europe shook peoples' faith in not only the Scriptures and traditional values, but also in the power of human knowledge and understanding. Bohemia and Moravia in the post-White Mountain period were engulfed by economic and spiritual genocide that was hidden under a religious – or, more accurately, ideological – cloak. The rulership and economic solutions to the conflicts in Europe during the Thirty Years' War and subsequent Nordic wars made an already hopeless situation even worse. The hardships of war and deadly epidemics devastated the country and the people. It was a cruel and miserable time, a period of moral decline.

It is no wonder then that at the time of the writing of *The Labyrinth* the author's mind was primarily focused on both comforting and teaching, as he suggested in the introductory chapter called "To the Reader." In his own words, therefore, he writes so that his knowledge and discoveries would be on the one hand portrayed "more clearly both to myself and to others."² And on the other hand, Comenius' *Labyrinth* addresses his own pain while simultaneously teaching others how to deal with the difficulties that the post-White Mountain situation brought.³ Jan Blahoslav Čapek (2004, p. 78) reminds us in this connection of the socio-consoling function of *The Labyrinth* – it shows the underside of the power, wealth, and fame of those who rule the world, in order to comfort his fellow countrymen and loved ones who had lost everything. It also addresses the moral questions: How can one succeed as a human being in the face of evil, violence, injustice, deception, etc.? How can one distinguish good from evil, the essential from the inessential, the true from the false?

2 A paraphrase from the translation of Lukáš Makovička.

3 The Battle of White Mountain, November 8, 1620, occurred about 13 km (8 miles) west of Prague. Many people from Comenius' circles began to flee as refugees. It was seen as a symbol of the death and destruction of the entire Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), in which, according to good estimates, over half the population of some regions of central Europe died, often from disease or starvation following the battles.

For a treatise on this kind of question the allegorical method is more than merely suitable. Allegory – a tool for hiding – paradoxically exposes reality. The process of uncovering what is veiled (by the allegory) produces a specific distance between the fictitious and real dimensions of the text, which offers the reader a tremendous heuristic potential: through its coding the allegory forces the reader to pay attention to reality. This is very valuable educationally, because reality isn't trivial. In addition, the stimulation on the semantic level of self-irony, parody, personification, and caricature awakens the reader's imagination, enabling him to look at things in a new, often truer, light. As an example consider the allegory whose goal is to expose the ills of education. Comenius might have appealed to an approach that leads the students towards active engagement, he might have written a treatise or a whole book criticising the fact that children in school tend to be too passive. But instead he says – with a tinge of irony – that one requirement for study is a "leaden posterior." No further explanation is necessary; everyone understands that there was too much sitting schools. The reader's imagination completes the work, for it is "an instrument of the senses" or the "sense organ of meaning," says C. S. Lewis (1969, p. 265) and thus enables the reader not only to understand reality in a new way, but to actually enter into that reality. With the help of his imagination the reader penetrates the fictional world Comenius portrays, experiencing its "fragrance," submitting to its rules, feeling the feelings of the characters, adopting their perspectives, identifying with or qualifying, experimenting with being this new "me" and so on. This visit to a fictional world – in our case an allegorical one – changes one's perception of the real world; the reader is "enchanted" (Tolkien, 2006, p. 161). It is a kind of self-transcendence, for it "widens, enriches and transforms not only the reader's vision of reality, but also his very being" (ibid.). The reader might even, as a result of this literary experience with the imaginary world "convert" to a different, deeper understanding of both the world and himself. He can laugh at himself or his own situation, or cry; he can see through it, get angry, be insulted or embarrassed, perhaps even find himself. In every case he is engaged – cognitively, emotionally, aesthetically, even, in the case of Comenius' allegories work morally, because the ultimate goal is to uncover the *summum bonum* of human life (comp. Kožmín, Kožminová, 2007, p. 44).

For this discussion the chapters in the *Labyrinth* dealing with the themes of education and teaching are essential.⁴ In Chapter 8, the pilgrim can't

⁴ For the sake of readability, I will not burden the text with extensive references. I will only indicate the given chapter of the *Labyrinth*. All English quotations from the *Labyrinth* will

stop himself from saying something when he sees the helplessness of parents and their spoiled children. First he notices “with what pain, tears and risk of life” children are brought into the world, then how hard the “two-fold” task is as the little ones grow up – the parents have to both curb their excessive enthusiasm and at the same time spur them on to do the things they should. But the children often don’t accept either the bridle or the spur and raise such a fuss that the parents are driven to utter “weariness” and “tears.” Many parents are too lax with their children and when the children tear themselves away it causes the parents shame and sometimes even death. The pilgrim begins to admonish both parents and children: the parents against overly sentimental love and excessive indulgence, the children for their rowdiness and disrespect, but with little success. The beginning teacher meets displeasure from both children and parents – they “glare at him, make caustic remarks” and some even “threaten him with death.” Remember that this was written in 1623 by an author who had had only a few years of teaching experience in Přerov and Fulnek. From the perspective of today’s reader, the author’s inclusion of this allegory could have a surprising side effect. Many educators might be encouraged and comforted that even the “Teacher of Nations” couldn’t avoid some of these specific examples of teacher frustration.

Particularly helpful for the theme of this chapter is Chapter 10, where Comenius allegorizes the educational system of his time. In essence it is a specific kind of meta-didactic discourse, which is an instructive text on education as such. First the pilgrim is lured by his guides’ vision of the “easier, more peaceful and useful life” of an intellectual. Apparently he will no longer need to be bothered with “unprofitable manual labor,” but can instead devote himself wholly to “noble things,” which will in the end make him “like God” with an abundance of knowledge. The pilgrim can’t resist. “What are we waiting for?” he urges his guides, eager to be among the learned.

When they arrive at the “Street of the Learned” the pilgrim observes the entrance examinations of the young people registering for study. The following passage is famous:

The first of the examinations, required of all, aimed at ascertaining what kind of purse, posterior, head, brain (which they judged by the nasal mucus), and skin each of the candidates brought. If the head were of steel, the brain of quicksil-

ver, the posterior of lead, the skin of iron, and the purse of gold, they praised him and willingly conducted him farther.

Those who pass the test are taken by "guards," also called "reformers." Their work is to prepare the students for study by "re-forming" their "hands, tongue, eyes, ears, brain and every internal and external sense," in order to be "of a different order than the ignorant masses." Of course it can't happen without "toil and pain," and the pilgrim sees how the poor souls were beaten with "fists, pointers, canes and sticks on their cheeks, head, back and seat until the blood ran and they were full of bruises and scars, weals and callouses." Many candidates are discouraged, tear themselves out of their reformer's hands and simply run away. But our pilgrim, who still longs for that profession, "with difficulty and bitterness" suffers all of it in order to continue further. He subsequently arrives at a crossroads where he has to choose between "philosophy, medicine, law and theology," that is, between the four schools in the universities of Comenius' day. They continue further to some square where there is gathered a "crowd of students, masters, doctors, ministers, both youths and grey-beards." But many of them - to the pilgrim's surprise - "had eyes but no tongue; others had a tongue but no eyes; some had only ears and no eyes or tongue, and so forth." Each was missing something.

There follows a tour of the library, where the pilgrim observes how the students stuff themselves with the "best and wittiest" pieces, "slowly chewing and digesting them." Some of them really benefit from this, but he sees that for others, "whatever they crammed in passed out at both ends undigested." Some of them in the end "became dizzy or lost their minds," still others "grew pallid, pined away and died." Some students learned from this and instead of allegorically consuming the books only carried them "to their rooms, [...] storing them on their shelves, taking them down again, looking at them; then again putting up and taking down the books, approaching or retreating, pointing out to each other or to strangers the excellent appearance of them."

"What are these folks playing at?" wonders the pilgrim and receives the answer from Delusion that if a person wants to be counted "among the learned" it isn't necessary to actually read the books, it's enough to have a nice library. To this the pilgrim reacts with the words (my paraphrase): As if a blacksmith was a blacksmith only because he had a hammer and pincers. But he only "thinks it to himself and says nothing to his guides," conspiratorially telling us, the readers, and by this creating "just between us" a special bond because we know something "they" don't. Thus a charm-

ing narrative tension is established here, with the author slyly winking at the reader. We are drawn in.

Then comes an especially current description of something we might call today *publication dilution*. Comenius speaks of “disorder in the writing of books,” and borrows an illustration from the apothecary, where medicine was prepared for general use. This is what he sees: There were “one or two [...] who collected fragrant roots and plants, cut them up, shook, cooked and distilled them, preparing delightful gins, potions, syrups and other medicines which are useful to the life of man.” And opposite them were hundreds of those who “only picked out things from the pots of others and transferred them into their own.” Still others, “who seized the pots of others to fill up their own, diluting the contents as much as they could, using even dishwater; and others condensing the mixture by adding all sorts of hodge-podge, even dust and sweepings.” It greatly angers the pilgrim, but he is assured that “it is also an art.” That doesn’t appease him though, and he continues – this time aloud – fussing at the quackery, although that only earns him hatred. So in the end he resigns himself, but he can’t help remarking again that he is bearing these misdeeds only with great displeasure. But there wasn’t anyone “to set matters right.”⁵

Then follows a description of the “quarrels, strife, scuffles and tumult” in “the Market-place of the Learned,” which again upsets the pilgrim because his guide promised him that here he would find the “most peaceful profession.” He has a glimmer of hope when some people appear who are calling for peace and the settling of every dispute. There even appears the possibility to organize some kind of conference in which the reconciling can take place. It is an obvious reference to the irenic trends Comenius had met in his own studies. He is met with the same outstanding personalities. The pilgrim catches sight of “Aristotle with Plato, Cicero with Sallust, Scotus with Aquinus, Bartoly with Bald, Erasmus with the men of the Sorbonne, Rama and Campanella with the peripatetics, Copernicus with Ptolomy, Theophrastus with Galen.” A number of pairs, each known for their controversies, are presented in dialogue. When they can’t agree they are asked to make the briefest outline of their argument. But when these are presented there are so many they couldn’t all be read in “six thousand years” (that is, all of history, according to the dating of the time). Consequently, everyone scattered to their quarrels and our pilgrim was “grieved to tears.” This strict rejection of the ancient philosophical tradition isn’t aimed at philoso-

⁵ Self-critically I’m afraid this text also suffers from a certain publicational “dilution” as it analyses what has already been analyzed many times and from different perspectives.

phy as such, which Comenius not only knew very well but used liberally in his later works. According to Eduard Petru (1988) he was criticizing the philosophical methods that are based only on a rational interpretation of the world and ignore other sources of knowledge – especially sensory and spiritual (Scripture). Philosophy that doesn't make use of every available source of knowledge must necessarily become reductionist, its view of the world incomplete and therefore deserving of criticism.

The conciseness, pertinence and talent for observation demonstrated by Comenius are outstanding. And he clearly has the ability to anticipate the reader's allegorical literacy – some allegories he leaves without clarifying comments, but where he expects the picture won't be understood, he provides an explanation (of course, using allegorical code). Thus for example he lets the guide explain that "If one doesn't have a head of steel it will split open; if the mind isn't made of quicksilver it can't be made into a mirror; if the skin isn't iron it won't survive the formative process; not possessing a lead bottom one could not endure the sedentary life of the student; and without a purse of gold, where would he find the necessary leisure or teachers, either living or dead?"

Why the head would split or why the mind should become a mirror, etc. the author doesn't explain. He expects the reader's experience as well as the story's context will make the picture understandable. Both wittily and engagingly, Comenius creates the opportunity to work out a solid critique of the allegorized phenomenon, and in doing so reveals much of his early ethics as well as his philosophy of education. I set forth his allegorical ideas concerning education one by one (following his pattern) in the form of question and dictum:

1. What is the proper motive for seeking an education? Education is not and must not be a purely pragmatic means of obtaining an easier life.
2. Is it possible to find a didactic approach that wouldn't be one-sidedly loaded with cognitive components (so as not to split the head)? How can specific material be truly understood and not merely mirrored? What approach could be taken that is without the abomination of violence? With what approach can the student remain actively engaged (not needing a "posterior of lead")?
3. What are the necessary preconditions for a student being able to study? Money should never be one of them (the "purse of gold").
4. How can one prevent fragmentary knowledge? How can one provide a solid, holistic education? Work out everything, from every side, in its entirety (*omnia, omnes, omnino*), says Comenius later.
5. In what way should the study materials (books) be handled, so as to al-

- low the student to get the most from them? What about the student who doesn't read (who "studies without studying")?
6. How does one handle pedagogically the huge wealth of knowledge in a way that the student doesn't faint or become overwhelmed?
 7. What makes a scholar a scholar? Outward appearances? A good library? Titles?
 8. What is the true meaning and reason for writing a book or publishing a work? Why is there so much watering down, recycling and even stealing from what has already been written many times? Shouldn't one write with an almost sacred respect for truth?
 9. Shouldn't the mission of the university be to find unity in diversity (*universitas*)? Isn't that type of humility which preserves the dignity even of those who have a different opinion part of academic excellence? Isn't virtue one aspect of scholarship? Or the ability to overcome personal interests, vanity, pride or other character defects so as to not hinder the meaningful and peaceful dialogue with another?

Given that this was written in the pre-didactic, pre-pansophic period of Comenius' work, the pertinence of his insights is fascinating. Long before the emergence of education as a separate discipline he was able to understand, name (and later also treat systematically) the key issues of the subject which are still relevant.

In the Labyrinth of modern scholarship

When in 1642 Comenius split from René Descartes in an academic/diplomatic disagreement, it was an epochal break with the mainstream philosophic thought that had swept the Western world for several centuries. Comenius concluded his epistemological debate with Descartes on the credible sources of knowledge with the famous words, "What for you is the whole is for me only a part."⁶ Descartes's methodological doubt was inconceivable for Comenius. It disassociated the human being from the world (as a whole), and reduced human knowledge to mere reason. Why such reductionism, when human beings have also been given other sources of knowledge, Comenius argued. He specifically named three "books" a person may read in order to learn *everything necessary for a good life*: the

⁶ From Comenius's apologetic autobiography, written late in his life, in which he remembered the debate with Descartes. For more details, see Molnár, A., Rejchrtová, N. (1987, pp. 155–156).

cosmos (the world), the microcosm (the human being) and revelation (the Bible). Each book speaks of the same thing, and they are mutually complementary. Foundational is the idea of integral harmony, which Comenius understood as not merely a random addition to the nature of being, but rather as a "transcendental attribute, without which a being cannot be" (Palouš, 1992, p. 24). On the premise that the entire universe is a harmonic whole resting on uniform principles, then things which cannot be known directly (through reason or inductively), can be derived from other sources. This is exactly what Comenius did later in his universal education (*Pampaedia*), followed by his universal wisdom (*Pansophy*). In them he presents parallel sources for a mutual relation, harmonizing the world(s). If in one world (or nature) one finds educative potential, by analogy that can be used to its maximum for the world of humans.

Understandably, it is not possible to apply the adjective "scientific" to a pedagogy arising from such a natural-philosophy, at least, not in the modern sense of the word. Comenius' pedagogy is rather an art – *ars*,⁷ as he often liked to say. It is the specific skill of dealing with things in accordance with their natural character, not distorting them, not doing "violence" to their essence, but on the contrary allowing the things which, by their very nature, speak to the nature of human beings, and in so doing, shape his humanity. Out of this came Comenius' motto: *Omnia sponte fluent, absit violentia rebus*.⁸

The goal of this art is wisdom, *sophia* or even *pansophia*, characterized by its existential openness to things, people and God. It is a spiritual attitude which intentionally cares about reciprocity, integrity and harmony, not only within the human race but in all of creation. After all, "we are all standing on the one great stage of the world, and whatever happens here, touches everybody."⁹

It is clear that prevailing conceptions of *Pädagogik* in Central Europe contrast with the vision of Comenius. In the former, *Pädagogik* understands itself as a science. It does not speculate, poeticize, trust or desire. It cannot, or it would not be science. Science must know; it deals only with facts; it requires evidence; it employs an exact methodology; it operates in

7 Never, however, in the aesthetic sense of the word.

8 "Let everything flow naturally (spontaneously), let there be no violence." This motto is written on the first page of Comenius's *Opera Didactica Omnia*. See also, for example, Comenius's *Didaktika analytická* (1946, p. 42).

9 This is a paraphrase from Comenius's *Unum necessarium*: "We are all sitting in the great theater of the world: whatever happens here, touches everyone." Taken from Molnár, A., Rejchrtová, N. (1987, p. 294).

scientific terminology; it arrives only at objective conclusions. But it has lost its human face.

There is no doubt that *Pädagogik* has made tremendous progress as a science. It has knowledge of facts about which Comenius, Descartes and Bacon never even dreamed. It knows how to formulate practical and verifiable goals. It knows how the human psyche functions. It understands the social context of the educational process. It knows the quantity of biological factors in education. It abounds with didactic technology. It knows when and how to use this or that method or form. It knows how to regulate conditions, modify content, make processes more effective and diagnose problems. It knows how to equip an individual with the key knowledge, skills and competencies required for success in the marketplace. It knows how to increase competitiveness. It knows how to deal with grants, formulate projects, budget for specific research projects, calculate the impact of products, quantify outputs ... Next to all this Comenius' "art" seems like sheer alchemy. Its humanitarian products of harmony, order, integrity, piety and omniscience remain hopelessly "antediluvian." In any case, difficult to sell. His pedagogy, however, has saved humanity.

Comenius' pedagogical project is a specific combination of Renaissance and Reformation initiatives. As with the Renaissance it looks for effective methods for seeking the truth and for teaching "everything and everyone." As with the Reformation it seeks to return to its original roots, to the biblical simplicity that was cultivated at that time in the Unity of Brethren (the denomination in which Comenius was raised). On this view Biblical truth must be accessible to everyone without the mediation of the church (Catholic) *magisteria*, that is, the office of didactic-dogmatic control, which – according to the Reformers – bent the truth in all sorts of ways and sometimes completely obscured it. Out of that belief came the Reformers' motto *sola scriptura*, that is, "Scripture alone." It expresses the belief that one does not need a mediator to live a good and pious life, the Bible alone is sufficient. Further, they considered all church dogma to be unnecessary add-ons. From the perspective of pedagogy it was a very important emphasis because it led to widespread literacy – every man (and for Comenius, every woman too) was enabled to read and establish a genuine relationship with God through Scripture (compare Říčan, 1947).

Comenius' educational project was a reaction to the sad situation of the social, political and religious circumstances of his day. Any reading which doesn't respect or ignores the influence of the conditions of the time on Comenius' work is doomed to misinterpretation. One of the key fundamentals of Comenius' system, on which he based his entire educational project, is

the concept of nature synergistically connecting his cosmology, anthropology and natural philosophy. As a theologian he saw nature and the whole natural world as a "creation," that is, the work of a Creator who created everything purposefully and meaningfully. As a philosopher he explored natural existence *sub specie educationis* (Patočka, 2003, p. 199), that is, from the point of view of education, so the educational potential would appear in its character. Everything, every being, is characterized by its teleological nature. It exists, has a goal outside of itself, beyond itself, stepping out of itself, for such it was intended and created. In Comenius' terminology, nothing exists from itself and for itself. And in this sublime contribution lies the pedagogical ability of the natural world. From birth a person enters the school of the world, which by its nature educates that person into basic humanity.

Comenius' philosophic-theological starting point is usually disregarded by modern interpreters, who consider it to be an outdated "residue of the times" (compare Popelová 1958, p. 143). In Comenius' educational system, however, it plays a very fundamental role and therefore it is not possible to split it off without destroying the integrity of his legacy as a thinker. There is no argument that much of Comenius' metaphysics deserves the attribute of naïve or utopian, or even fantastic.¹⁰ It is also true that his principles – however brilliant in his time – cannot compete with current didacticism and its countless results of empirical research in the areas of psychology, biology, sociology, cybernetics, and so on. However, what remains in Comenius' inspiring work and what is lacking in current *Pädagogik*, is his (neglected) teleological transcendence. The final goal of all of his methodological principles, precepts, laws and all of his pedagogical efforts, is not only effective instruction as a preparation for life, or in current competitive terminology, successful integration in the marketplace (compare Floss, 2005). Comenius' goal is actually the exact opposite: educating the person into non-self-dependence. It is *educatio* in the original sense of the word, that is, the leading of a person out of herself, away from her own closeness to others and the outside world (compare Palouš, 1991). Comenius knows that the welfare of the individual cannot be achieved without, or at the expense of, the welfare of the whole – as is apparent both from his famous saying, "we are all standing on the one great stage of the world, and whatever happens here, touches everybody," and from his holistic-universal prefix

¹⁰ See, for example Comenius's numerical speculations (almost all of his cosmological principles appeared to him in threes) or his mosaic of pansophy. For more details on this theme, see Hábl (2015).

pan [universal], which by the end of his philosophic works he consistently tacked onto almost every human activity: pansophy, panglotia, panharmonia [universal wisdom, universal language, universal harmony], and so on. No matter how ingenious Comenius' didactic inventions were, they make sense only if they can make a person truly human, that is, in a harmonious relationship with the entire universe – with the Creator and with creation. The school which is enabled to lead a person to become a natural, non-self-dependent being, then becomes a true “workshop of humanity” and in the end a tool for the general reparation of human affairs. This was the goal of all of Comenius' pedagogical efforts.

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1.3 Specific Philosophical-Educational Topic

1.3.1 The Idea of Education or, What Is Not Visible for the Approach of Objectifying Science?

David Rybák

Here, I would like to contribute with some remarks concerning the *Idea*¹ of education and with some basic structures, as they are visible in the phenomenological approach. I myself belong to the tradition of Czech philosophy of education, which originates mainly in phenomenology of Edmund Husserl, Eugen Fink and Martin Heidegger and also hermeneutical philosophy of Hans-Georg Gadamer. Thanks to Jan Patočka, phenomenological approach was discussed and opened already in the era when the official philosophy in Czechoslovakia was Marxism–Leninism. Philosophers who visited Patočka’s lectures and seminars at Philosophical faculty and later on, when Patočka was expelled from the university after 1968, in his home seminars, among them Radim Palouš (1924–2015), Jaroslava Pešková (1929–2006), were able to continue in Patočka’s phenomenology and in his questioning the Idea and the sense of education. And I consider myself lucky that their students and successors in this line of philosophy of education, Anna Hogenová, Naděžda Pelcová are my teachers.

What is distinctive in this line of philosophy of education? Here I can only point out the main character: The education is not an issue here as a process but as an Idea. That means the questioning concerns the necessity which is constitutive for education as education. “Philosophy of education” here is not interpreted as a special science, but as theoretical practice of philosophy itself. Philosophy as Plato’s discovery does not mean here a mere theoretical thinking about something, for instance about education. It is philosophy as a “love of wisdom”, which provides the basic structures for the asking about education. In this sense, the theme of questioning here is not only a philosophy of education, but also a philosophy of education. Also “education” in this line of Czech philosophy of education is not interpreted as an object of expertise, of special sciences, but it is questioned and investigated in its Idea in the Platonic sense, that means in its characters that necessary belong to it.

¹ I write here the word “Idea” with the capital “I” to indicate that I mean the Idea in the Platonic sense and not in the sense of “representation”, as it is understood in modern thinking based on Cartesian metaphysics.

Philosophy as a love of wisdom involves the paradoxical erotic² structure (cf. Plato, 1973: 209a-b) in which we go beyond our present knowledge to what we do not know. This presupposes that we are able to see ourselves in our not-knowing. And this structure belongs also to the Idea of education itself as a movement in which I am striving for understanding of myself, for "who" am I as human, for my humanity. The humanity of human, the Idea of human is thus discovered by Plato and to this Idea belongs essentially the movement which we call "education".

Let me elucidate this discovery of the Idea of humanity by a short interpretation of Heraclitus fragment: "Dogs bark at every one they do not know" (Heraclitus, Fr. 97). I interpret: the dog is able to encounter the negativity of "not-knowing", but only in a way, that he barks at this "not-known". That means the dog in his being has no ability to go beyond what he encounters. In contrast, to the human being as human belongs the "erotic" ability to go beyond the sphere of his knowledge to what he does not know. Human is able to speak about his own not-knowing in the form of the question and he is also able to strive for the answer to his question. Speech (logos) is not only an ability to produce the words, means to communicate, but to be able to about my own "not-knowing", to go beyond my present knowledge. Speech is the way how we as humans are in the world in contrast to dogs, cars, buildings etc. And the ability cannot be adequately interpreted by any special science, because the negativity it involves is not an object.

To the Idea of education belongs the possibility to free myself by knowing myself in my "not-knowing", in my pre-judices that orientate my living and acting, that pre-decide how I understand anything whatsoever in the world, including myself. In education, I am freeing myself from my prejudicial, believing self, which is enclosed in his prejudices, his believing and his opinions. In such a way, education also enables me to understand someone else, to understand that my view is not the only possible view and also that my experience in its meaning is not something random or rhapsodic, that it has its validity from the sense-giving (Sinnggebung) source of my understanding which always already throws its light and makes something visible as something. This explication opens up a possibility to understand, why things are appearing so and so and that this necessity of appearing is not the same as their reality. That I encounter this or that in the world is something random in the sense that it would not create any contradiction

² It is good to remind the reader that Greek "ero" means "to strive for", "desire" and also "to ask".

if it would not be or if it would be otherwise. But that I encounter something as this or that is not random and it involves the necessity even if I, in the course of my experience, am not aware of this necessity.

To encounter this necessity means to have the correlative “where-from” I encounter something in my encountering. This “sight” itself, this having something given together with the “sight” through which it is given is precisely what Plato called *Idea* (our Czech word “vid” is maybe closest to the English word “sight”). This encountering we cannot understand in a metaphysical or psychological way in a sense that there is a ready-made ego in the world who relates itself to something in the world, but in other way around that this relation is the very originating of myself, the ego, to “whom” a correlative environment (*Umwelt*) belongs with its disclosed possibilities. Using Plato’s metaphor of the cave, the getting out of the cave is also getting out of some ego, as “who” I grow up through the constitutive acts of belief (here I have in mind what Plato calls “*doxa*”) into a correlative “world”.

In this sense, what belongs to an educated human is the possibility and ability to see the issues through the eyes of someone else, not to be enclosed in one way of seeing which I confuse with the reality, and also in one particular ego, which is petrified in his own ways of encountering and so in his petrified possibilities how to encounter anything. Such a human being lives in self-enclosing to his own self, insofar this enclosing means not knowing about my not knowing, i.e. about myself (as not knowing). And this self-enclosing to my own possibilities also means the enclosing within our tradition, which thus creates a Platonic cave of higher order.

What the educated human is able to accomplish is not only to manage entities in the world, but and primarily to make visible the visibility itself, in other words, his own relation to the given and through this he is also able to disclose his own self. Human being always already transcends the given in a way, that he gave this given to himself, but in this “always already giving to myself the given and thus always already understand this given” I do not understand my understanding, because I aim primarily at what is understood, not at this understanding alone which decides as what something appears to me. And as it is always me who gives himself something somehow (i.e. in some sense-unity) and as the education consists in making visible this self who gives something as something to himself, we could say that the idea of education is nothing else than the answer and at the same time the repetition of the old question covered within the Greek discover of *gnothi seauton*, know yourself.

Education as *e-ducare*

Within our tradition, we are inheritors of discoveries, insights into the way of interpreting the appearances or, correlatively our experiences. Our Czech word "ob-jev" (literally in English: "through-appearance") is close to English dis-cover, meaning "to go beyond the appearances and to uncover the source of light with respect to the necessity of why something appears so and so" (Vopěnka, 1989: 439). But what cannot be taken over are these insights, only the results of these insights, so we do not know the questions which led to the results, to the answers we inherited. In this sense, education is *e-ducare*, "bringing out" of the sphere of mere appearances, presuppositions to the insight into the criteria of knowledge.

Philosophy of education goes to the origins of the European tradition, mainly to Plato's philosophy. The Idea of philosophy as discovered by Plato means a totally new, specific type of experience that provides the ground for thematically practiced education. Plato's discovery of education (*paideia*) as specifically human possibility not only to think from some set of assumptions, from the shadowy picture of the world but also to go beyond these assumptions to the understanding of them. It is important to add that it is not about application of some pre-given theoretical concepts and rules. That would transform thinking into a mere technological operating with concepts and their application. To the Idea of education belongs the care for the ability to go beyond the fixed frame of our concepts and beliefs.

In order to operate with logical concepts and apply them on the particular cases, we would need to have some logic and its correlative "onto-logic" beforehand. But philosophy as a striving for a total non-prejudicial knowledge (Husserl) questions this logic in its sources and the ontology of the world which belongs to this logic. In this sense, philosophy of education is located in the space before this cut between concepts and particular cases.

Idea of education and object of education

Why is this line of thought important and actual? Special sciences are not able to understand human being as a whole (cf. Fink, 1979: 106ff.). That means in his ontological structure, in his "humane" way of being. Why not? Because this ontological structure is not an object in the world, it cannot be objectified. But there is always already metaphysical decision executed in modern special sciences, as concerns the question what does mean "to be". As long as these sciences operate within the structure of consciousness,

within the subject-object relation, “to be” means for them “to be an object”. But as was already said, the ontological structure of human being cannot be interpreted only as being an object.

Phenomenology re-discovers the discovery of philosophy with its “erotic” structure in this double being of human: Human is not only an *object in the world* but also a *subject for the world* (Husserl, 1983: § 28; Husserl, 1970: §§ 53–55). Human being always already understands the world and himself in the world, but this understanding itself is not in the world. I do not speak here about psychological knowledge. Because psychology itself, as any other special science, is already located in the world and investigates the objective mental processes.

For instance, the validity of the judgment “two and two equals four” does not depend on the mental process as a psychological process. It depends on the truth itself (it is an instantiation of the Idea of truth), which is given in an intuitive manner. You simply see in your mind that if you collect four units, you get the four. This mental seeing provides the last criterion without which any logical deduction could not be possible. This seeing cannot be deduced. First you need to see in your mind and then you can divide what you see into deductive steps of reasoning. Or in a simpler case: the redness cannot be deduced or defined, you must be able to see it and this seeing provides the criterion for knowledge of what does it mean to be “red”.

Insofar as special sciences are able to investigate only what is made an object for them, they are blind to this constitutive aspect of human being which we call “being subject for the world”. The world alone is not in the world and yet I always already know that we are in the world. How and from where do we know this? The world is not an object, but the horizon within which we can encounter something as something.

Phenomenology with her questioning about the way of being makes us able to understand the education as an ontological movement. However, the approach of special sciences is important, this science conceive human being as an object of their own particular expertise. But education concerns human being not only as an object in the world, but also in his relation to the world and to himself as such. Phenomenological approach is important, because it makes possible to investigate this paradoxical double-sided structure of human being.

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Of course, we can see education from different perspectives, for instance as a psychological, social, political etc. process. But then it is important to understand that we see this *objective process* in the world and not the issue itself, education in its essential characteristics. But it must be this Idea of education that must provide the criterion according to which any practice of education must be regulated. And insofar as to education essentially belongs bringing human to his own humanity, and insofar as to this humanity belongs the structure of striving for understanding of the world and myself in the world, we cannot do the theory of education and education itself only by means of special sciences and their objectifying methods. The education cannot do without these complementary sides of human being, which we have stressed in moments "being object in the world" and "being subject for the world". To be able to think of these moments in their unity, we need other science that is able to thematise the mode of being itself and this science is philosophy.

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1.3.2 Transgression as the Key Concept of Continental *Pädagogik*: Reflections on the Ukrainian Experience

Iryna Predborska

Cross-cultural interaction increases in the globalization era and the information revolution. Under its influences the contemporary geocultural landscape becomes the pluralistic discourse of different cultures, ethnicities and countries where each of them has equal historical heritage. How is it possible to establish cooperation between them which will promote mutual understanding between peoples? Today these issues receive a new urgency due to the huge influx of migrants to Europe (as a result of military actions in Syria), the spread of terrorism and, as a corollary to this, increasing xenophobia on the continent. Perception of the Other has particular relevance in present Ukraine in connection with military events in the East and the Russian occupation of Crimea.

Such developments also pose major educational challenges; challenges that were identified in the UNESCO study of 1996, *Learning: The Treasure Within*, commonly known as the “Delors Report”. Among the four “pillars” of contemporary education Delors mentions “learning to live together by developing and understanding of the other people” (Delors, 1996, p. 37). It presupposes discovering Others. Education (Ger. *Bildung and Erziehung*) should help to discover Others, to create an educational space between differences, and to build bridges between them.

Continental *Pädagogik* as a scientific discipline has historically been developed in close association with philosophy. An integration of philosophical and pedagogical knowledge takes place. This brings to the foreground philosophical and worldview problems. At the same time, such integration seems productive and methodologically grounded, as it stimulates development of new pedagogical theories, enriching methodological tools of pedagogy (Ger. *Bildungstheorie*).

But the absence of this interaction is an obstacle for understanding educational problems. For example, Ukrainian educational leaders talk too much about subject and object interrelation in the educational process; they proclaim adherence to the concept of personality-oriented education, but education is still understood by them from the point of view of Soviet pedagogy as a process of an active influence of the ‘object’ on the ‘subject’.

These contradictory positions are evidence of a misunderstanding the nature of educational processes. A proper understanding, by contrast, proceeds from the ability to understand the Other.

Integration between pedagogy (Ger. *Bildungstheorie*) and philosophy can be exemplified by the concept of transgression. It reveals the dynamics of Self-Others interaction. This concept is transferred from postmodernism (M. Foucault, M. Blanchot, G. Bataille), where transgression means the phenomenon of border transition between the possible and impossible; a passing beyond the borders constructed by our culture and history. For example, M. Foucault emphasizes that "transgression is an action which involves the limit, that narrow zone of a line where it displays the flash of its passage... Transgression carries the limit right to the limit of its being; transgression forces the limit to face the fact of its imminent disappearance, to find itself in what it excludes... Transgression contains nothing negative, but being-affirms the limitlessness into which it leaps as it opens this zone to existence for the first time" (Foucault, 1977, pp. 33–35).

This chapter aims to reveal the philosophical and pedagogical meaning of the concept "transgression" and analyze its possibilities for Ukrainian educational and sociocultural processes.

As humanity in the contemporary changing world constantly faces the need to overcome its stereotypes and prejudices, paraphrasing Sartre's thought, we can say that human is doomed not only to freedom but to transgression. Transgression results in superimposition of the interactive participants' semantic fields, when they transcend their own stereotypes and perceptions. Border crossing engenders the liminal spaces of individual sociocultural experience. The formation of a new identity takes place, including a new attitude to the Other, by a deconstruction of the boundaries that cause and institutionalize differences.

In postmodernist literature we can find the philosophical bases of the concept of transgression. An *ontological* stance which stresses the limitations of reality transformations, and an absence of rigid structuration plays a very important role in the emergence of the concept "transgression".

The *anthropological* aspect of this concept takes up the idea, associated with postmodernist writers, according to which the human being has never been constant; but rather during all human history he/she has undergone transformational changes. The concept of transgression is closely related to understanding a human by transformative anthropology (Khoruzhyi, 2008). I have in my mind its universal paradigm of human constitution called the "paradigm of anthropological unlocking". From such a perspec-

tive a human is understood as a subject who realizes him/herself through opening and unlocking himself/herself to the Other. It describes how humans overcome their own limits by coming into contact with the Other in border manifestations of human experience. As Ukrainian scholar L. Gorbunova puts it: “a human can be understood as a subject, who constitutes through unlocking him/herself, overcoming him/herself, actualizes through his/her attitude to the Other” (Gorbunova, 2011, p. 135). Such an existential situation can be qualified as a border one. It requires readiness to change one’s own ways of thinking and of life, with continual reconsideration of changing living situations.

The *epistemological* aspect of transgression is based on: a) a recognition of fallibility (K. Popper) and of the social nature of knowledge (R. Harré); b) an orientation toward personalization (M. Polanyi); c) a recognition of numerous ways of interpreting reality, i.e. a plurality of truths (P. Feyerabend); d) a rejection of stances that give rise to totalizing discourses; (e) a poststructuralist perception of freedom (as interpretation of meanings). As a result of transgression knowledge is continuously gained from the contextual interweaving of national, cultural, historical and personal components in the constitution of individuality. H. Giroux’s thought, according to which students and teachers must be transgressors, presupposes their joint participation in knowledge reproduction, and reconstruction of educational space (Giroux, 2006). Knowledge in this case becomes the means of personal self-transformation.

The *culture-oriented* aspect of the concept is connected with a postmodernist elucidation of cultural activity models. Transgression is a concept that reflects the dynamics of personal self-transformation. Following the theory of moral development of L. Kohlberg we can observe the personal evolution from passive perception of the Other’s values to postconventional morality. For it the growing awareness of the individual and the recognition of the priority of such basic values as life, liberty and justice are indicative features.

The desire to go further, perceiving the unknown and incomprehensible, revealing the new opportunities in the person’s internal and external world, creating one system and rejecting others, all this and more can be defined within the framework of the concept “transgression”. Logically, we can say that any progressive development in human history, including the history of human thought and art, based on this phenomenon. That is why the transgression ceased to be merely a philosophical concept, significantly expanding the area of its application.

The concept is widely used in critical pedagogy (P. Freire), border peda-

gogy (H. Giroux), revolutionary critical pedagogy (P. McLaren), theory of transformative learning (J. Mezirow) and others, where the tools of understanding Otherness are revealed. Its application in the contemporary pedagogy presupposes the following important points:

1. understanding education and culture as social institutions, through which the mechanism of social reproduction of inequality and differences are constructed.
2. recognition of power relations in education through the concept "micro-physics" of power of M. Foucault; the theory of symbolic violence of P. Bourdieu; the concept of oppression of I. M. Young.
3. understanding "education as the practice of freedom" (Freire, 2000, p. 6), connected with overcoming social injustice and the struggle against xenophobia and all kinds of oppression and humiliation: classism, sexism, racism, ageism.

Most of these ideas are explored in my previous publications. Besides, I analyze the concept of transgression from a synergetic-methodological standpoint and from the position of critical pedagogy; and also its possible implementation in pedagogical education (Predborska, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2015; Predborska, Gumenyuk, 2015).

Transgression thus understood, is an educational interaction in which learning and understanding are created, not only transmitted. This process is constantly linked with a choice of different ways of further self-development. As the result of it a space of freedom is created, in which the becoming of the personality is advanced. The students become "owners" of their knowledge, which makes them the self-reflexive subjects. Synchronization of educational process with cognitive and moral personal development takes place. Fruitful self-transformation is realized by individuals by revising their own understanding of curricula and of their methods of teaching. Teaching itself now becomes oriented as a force for redefining social differences in changeable society.

The French philosopher and sociologist E. Morin considers that "education is the "force for the future" because it is one of the most powerful instruments of change" (Morin, 1999, p. 1). He writes: To articulate and organize and thereby recognize and understand the problems of the world, we need a reform in thinking...It is the fundamental question for education because it concerns our ability to organize knowledge (Morin, 1999, p. 13). To his mind, this means breaking down the traditional barriers between disciplines and conceiving new ways to reconnect that which has been torn apart. We have to redesign our educational policies and programs (Morin, 1999, p. 1). To understand new approaches and points of views it is

necessary to change our way of thinking. And transgression is considered as one of the educational opportunities to achieve it. How we can use the methodological potential of the concept “transgression” for an educational comprehension of the present situation in Ukraine? In this connection some important factors which prevent a proper recognition of the otherness of others can be identified.

Firstly, there are the historical consequences of xenophobic Soviet propaganda and the associated lack of an experience of democracy in Ukrainian society. We can observe many instances of such divisiveness in relation to the Other at different times of our history. For example, it is known how the Bolshevik government destroyed the churches and their utensils during 1917–1930. Then, under the motto “Leninfall”, activists started to pull down Lenin monuments in 2014 during Revolution of Dignity. There was the widespread photo of this period in media, which showed a Priest striking the Lenin monument in Kyiv with a hammer. Decommunization is an important step in overcoming the totalitarian past. But this process must be accompanied by other means, aimed above all at a reduction of totalitarian thinking. It is time to change the previous examples of how relations to the Other are to be understood and carried on.

Secondly, there are the divisive patterns since the elections of 1994, systematically promoting East-West animosities, where the contending parties made partisanship into a virtue.

Thirdly, there is the support from divers quarters outside Ukraine for the idea of a so-called Russian world (*Russkiy Mir*); a designation which is xenophobic and imperial. It is claimed that Ukrainians are “the same people” (one nation) as Russians. For example, Russian president V. Putin often says that Ukraine and Russia are “simply fraternal states”, generally speaking, it is “the same nation” (Putin, 2016). Such remarks are also quite widespread among Russian politicians and public figures.

What is the idea of “Russian world”? It proceeds from the recognition of the hybrid character of relations between Russians and Ukrainians. This hybrid character is institutionalised through the notion of *homo sovieticus*. At the same time the relationship between “fraternal peoples” is defined hierarchically, and according to A. Fournier, we are confronted with an imperial hybridity¹:

¹ This concept is used mainly in postcolonial theory, in cultural studies. It receives a new urgency in discussions relating to Russian-Ukrainian conflict in the East of Ukraine. Hybridity is the characteristic of a cultural form produced by the interaction of two or more separate cultures or forms. It is understood as juxtaposition of cultural traditions, forms and the process of inter-reference between them.

As the vertical (cultural) boundary between Ukrainians and Russians faded, the horizontal (hierarchical) boundary was reinforced. The cultural similarity serves as a justification for Russian cultural and political penetration (Fournier, 2002, p. 417). This idea is connected with the attempts to preserve a Soviet cognitive space; in other words, a linguistic and cultural Russian presence in Ukraine for its consolidation under the power of Russia.

In this context I would like to tell a story that impressed me positively. Once, during the international conference we decided to show the city of Kamyanets-Podil'skyi to our Polish guests. This city has a rich history. It is called the city of seven cultures (Ukrainian, Polish, Jewish, Armenian, Russian, Turkish, Tatars). One of our guests suddenly dropped on her knees near the stele in St. Peter and Paul Cathedral, where according to legend, Volodyevski was buried, and began to recite from Henrik Senkevych's novel² *Pan Volodyevski*.

We (Ukrainians) could not imagine ourselves in such situation, because we didn't know where the prominent political figures of our own history were buried. The humanities, as studied under Soviet education, gave us a lot of information about the history, writers, culture, etc., of other peoples and countries. But at the same time a few generations of Ukrainians did not know authentic Ukrainian history. Culture and traditions were presented through the prism of an authorised social class approach and through existing ideological dogmas.

Ukrainian journalist L. Ivshyna, comparing the history of Poland and Ukraine, points out one of the differences: there were Poles³ at the time of attainment of Independence by Poland, but in Ukraine there were the citizens of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic⁴ at the moment of attainment of Independence (1991). And her second conclusion is that Ukrainians are a nation without historical memory, monuments, and graves of famous historical figures. She asserts: "While they are not here and we are not visible" (Ivshyna. 2004, p. 7).

How can Ukrainian education change our thinking which, according to contemporary educational tendencies, must be non-linear, open, transgressive, nomadic? What changes need to be pursued to enable students and teachers become border crossers? Such changes presuppose, in the

2 According to the novel, Volodyevski is one of the heroes of the Second Polish-Ottoman War.

3 The representatives of Polish nation (I make more precise some points to better understand the meaning of this translated quotation).

4 This refers to the notion of *homo sovieticus*.

first place, a redefining of the main pedagogical principles. There is a necessity to shift from a controlled discipline-based education with predictions and targets, and to give a transdisciplinary, emergent curriculum as the sum of proposed courses of study, as a core of the educational process. The curriculum should be dynamic, relational, self-organized, open, existentially realized by the participants, connected and recursive. It should be based on:

- transculturality: as a situation in the present-day culture (including the process of unification and differentiation) that offers insights that can be possible only due to the simultaneous consideration of the facts springing from quite different cultural traditions and value orientations;
- transdiscursivity: as a communicative and cognitive practice that promotes the simultaneous consideration of facts connected with quite different discursive perspectives.

The education strategies embodied in such a curriculum are a *sine qua non* for meaningful change. Such strategies enable students and teachers become transgressors, and knowledge is understood as the result of their transgression. Students and teachers create borderlands in which all diversities are perceived as parts and a whole; socially, historically and culturally constructed limitations are destroyed. The transgression-based curriculum conceptualizes differences, contexts, processes, multi-factor causality, and presupposes different ways of thinking about context.

What changes can we observe in Ukrainian education? Is it ready to adopt such curriculum? In seeking the answers to these questions I'll give the results of content analysis conducted by one of my former PhD students in her thesis. To investigate the changes in the content and teaching methods at pedagogical Universities, A. Gumenyuk has conducted a content analysis of 20 contemporary textbooks on pedagogy (Ger. *Bildungstheorie*) for higher education (Gumenyuk, 2010, p. 144). Concerning one of the content analysis parameters (the principles and content of teaching objectives) she concludes that students are offered "mostly reproductively oriented objectives which require answering questions (yes or no), make a table, prepare the scheme... choose the correct answer from several options, fill the table..." (Gumenyuk, 2010, p. 149).

I share the author's point of view that such tasks do not cultivate the search for independence of mind. These objectives rather maintain a reproductive approach in learning, and promote linear thinking in a teacher. Becoming a new style of thinking is the important condition for future teachers' self-transformation. Why is a readiness for self-transformation

necessary for them? As Confucius said, the main task of the teacher is to open the new perspective of pupils' thinking. Contemporary education requires the teacher to be able to overcome stereotypes, correctly perceive the possibilities for change, to analyze the liminal situation, when traditional values are discredited and new ones don't readily appear in conditions of increasing uncertainty. Also, the future teacher will be called-on to make decisions in non-standard situations, to choose ways of development and achievement goals that genuinely respect diversity. Such activity is possible when it is based on the new type of thinking. So the objectives in textbooks should be set to organize the educational process in such way to develop critical reflectivity and to get experience in discourse.

Contemporary researches of cultural and historical identity in Ukraine, as elsewhere, are informed by the humanities, especially history. The fruits of such research take some decades to become established. But in Ukraine recent Russian aggression has created turbulence for this research. Historical scholarship remains all too vulnerable to ideological influences and competing portrayals of Ukrainian identity continually do battle in the media. On the one hand, the historians would like to reconsider, revalue processes, events, figures that were associated with the history of "older brother", but, on the other hand, the situational approach is quite obvious. For example, today the name of ancient state (9th–13th century)⁵ in Central and Eastern Europe "Kyivan Rus" is substituted by another name "Rus' – Ukraine". It was proposed by Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine as an instruction for school teachers of history (Lyst, 2015).⁶ The purpose of such substitution is to make a distinction between Russian and Ukrainian understanding this historical period and especially claim to historical heritage. The problem is that the both of the terms were developed by historians in 19th–20th century. Correspondingly: "Kyivan Rus" was proposed by Russian historians, and "Rus' – Ukraine" is introduced by Ukrainian ones.

But at the same time, to my mind, the main result of all events which have taken place in Ukraine after the Revolution of Dignity (2014) is a reconsideration of their own history by Ukrainians. This means a renewed effort to know the own roots, i.e. understand history from the positions of Ukrainians. The sharpest debates are about Second World War. For a long time, we "absorbed" its history from Stalin's point of view. But today we

⁵ The chroniclers used the terms «Rus'» to define this state.

⁶ These propositions are based on a new concept of history for school developed by historians from Ukrainian Institute of National Memory.

would like to know who are the enemies, and who are not? How might it be possible to harmonize the conflicting parties who understood the perspectives of their Motherland/Ukraine differently? The events of the Second World War are still largely seen through the tools of mass manipulation of the political leaders of former soviet republics. The re-conception proposed by today's Ukrainian historians is marked by important shifts in interpreting this war:

- This war for Ukrainians is the Second World War and not Great Patriotic war as it was since Stalin's time. For some citizens the Motherland was the USSR, while for others it was Ukraine.
- For Ukraine this war began on September 1939 (when, according to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact West Ukraine was occupied by USSR) and not on the 22nd of June 1941, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union.
- The participants of the Ukrainian partisan movement and the Ukrainian Insurgent army (VIA) are presented now as participants of the Second World War. At the same time the Ukrainian Insurgent army is considered as the second front in the struggle for liberation of Ukraine. During the soviet time it was forbidden even to recall its name.
- A new interpretation of Ukrainian history recognizes all Ukrainians who lived in different countries (USA, Canada, GB, Italy and so on) and gave their life for peace. According to the Soviet vision of history all Ukrainians living abroad were considered traitors.

These positions carry important implications for textbooks on history; also for changes in the teaching of history. The content analysis of school textbooks (2015-2016) referred to earlier affords grounds to advance changes like the following in the contents of the history curriculum and in the teaching of history itself:

- *the creation a historical discourse* by the presentation of different historical sources;
- *the anthropologization of historical knowledge* - from one side, it means increasing the human dimension of history by presenting information about the personal life, socio-cultural and political activity of the historical figures; and, from the other side, it encourages a tolerant vision of historical being;
- *the axiologization of historical knowledge and dialogization of educational space* by implementation of an intersubjective approach to historical education - for instance, through an appeal to the history of everyday life that opens the possibilities for a dialogue of culture and values in time (Hisem, 2016; Sviderskyi, 2015).

Thus, transgression as a strategy of Self-Others interaction and understanding is necessary for personal self-development, for reconciliation with our history, for reaching consensus in society. Even if J.-F. Lyotard considers that "consensus is horizon that is never reached" to reach toward it is the moral duty of contemporary education which looks forward.

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1.3.3 Knowledge and Skill Transfer in the Context of Globalized Education

Lyudmyla Gorbunova

Challenges for 21st-century education

Describing our present, we can distinguish the two most important factors that shape a number of challenges for the individual and society in education. First, we live in a world of crisis, which is transformed in the direction of global society by competing scenarios; secondly, on a global level as a result of information and communications revolution the so-called knowledge society is formed, which is typical for a new way of development of civilization – informationalism (Castells). This transition is characterized as the era of fluid time («Liquid Modernity» by Baumann) when social processes become dominated by the logic of networks, when stability hierarchical structures of the order is lost, changes are accelerated and become permanent and unpredictable by nature, and people's life in these conditions is presenting as total uncertainty.

There is a growing diversity and heterogeneity in new millennium societies, characterized by a number of internal crises even in the welfare states: social crisis, environmental crisis, crisis of the state, the threat caused by globalization, and finally the crisis of democracy. The consequences of these crises include aggravation of social and economic inequality, the emergence of global forms of governance with new centers of decision-making that undermine the possibility of decision-making by individuals or states, and not least loss of citizens' trust in the democratic system as a result of the understanding that political decisions are taken away.

Education philosophers should clarify the social situation in the world as a context that not only shapes problems, but also gives us direction and a certain freedom to develop a new way of thinking and acting for the deployment of reasonable future scenarios and educational strategies.

We have to advance from the mostly metaphorical image of «knowledge society» and seek to develop precise criteria and characteristics for the development of educational programs and specific tasks of reform. Today, social and educational studies are dominated by general ideas about the characteristics of such a society, but nevertheless contribute to clarify the strategic tasks facing education.

The main task facing the knowledge society, as Jesus Granados marks, is to generate collective intelligence: the intelligence of society as a whole is more important than a society consisting of many individual intelligence (Granados, 2011). The answer of philosophical mind to these challenges and objectives should be found at the projects of «complex thinking» by Edgar Morin (see: Predborska, 2012), «global thinking» by Erwin Laszlo, «nomadic thinking» by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, «communicative rationality» by Jürgen Habermas, “transversal mind” by Wolfgang Welsch (Welsch, 1993, 1998), «transversal rationality» by Calvin Schrag (Schrag, 1989; 1997), etc. (see: Gorbunova, 2011, 2012, 2013).

A pluralistic reality requires regular and unforced transitions between different cultures of knowledge and epistemology, paradigms and disciplines, building relationships and communication between the various value-semantic structures and constellations rationality (Gorbunova, 2012). Any absolutism or monologism is likely to stimulate divisiveness and strife. In contrast to educational goals associated with absolutism in any form, it is necessary for more defensible educational goals not only to recognize differences and treat them with tolerance, but also to respect their own value support their protection.

That is to say, there is a necessity to focus on two major interconnected issues; firstly, an understanding and appreciation of real differences, and secondly an ability to bring such difference into meaningful communication without flattening any of them. Such a necessity might be pursued through *transversal thinking* and *communicative action*; characteristics that need to be embodied as central competencies wherever “closed” cultures regularly encounter one another. This signifies the creation of a “third space”, no longer that of either contending party; rather, a space where “transversality” emerges as a new form of universality within globalised society.

Key competencies as a policy goal within the European educational space

Based on the review of competency in the *Harvard University Competency Dictionary*, it may be noted that competence in the most general sense is the set of attributive individual “that an individual must demonstrate to be effective in a job, role, function, task or duty” (p. 4). These typical “accessories” include appropriate behavior at work, motivation and technical knowledge and skills (p.4).

Today in the research literature on educational reform, there is a discussion on the definition of competencies and their role in shaping policies and specific tasks of learning, particularly in relation to universities' efforts to improve their performance. The origin of the debate about competence can be traced to 1996 (Dabrowski et al., 2011), when the Council of Europe has identified active citizenship as the ability to think critically, to take responsibility, to participate in making group decisions, resolve conflicts in non-violent ways and participate in the management and improvement of democratic institutions. Thus, competencies were introduced in the rhetoric of official documents in order to cover the most important aspects of the social life of European citizens.

Competence includes the aspects of subjectivity, actions and value. That is to say, competence is manifested in activity, embodied by definition in narratives and formed by values. As competence involves knowledge of specific contexts of practical action, the development of competencies is based also on the experience of such contexts and takes into account the whole spectrum of learning potential (informal, non-formal and formal) throughout life.

Central here are the knowledge and skills that can be applied within multiple new situations and different fields; i.e. transferable. Such knowledge includes both content knowledge in a particular area and procedural knowledge of how, why and when to apply this knowledge.

The DeSeCo program identifies four analytical aspects of key competencies:

- they are multifunctional,
- they are transversal to social areas,
- they belong to a higher order of mental complexity, which requires an active, critical, reflective and responsible approach to life,
- they are multidimensional, integrating know-how, analytical, creative and communication skills (OECD, 2005).

The European System of key competencies for lifelong learning (OJEU, 2006) identifies competencies as necessary for personal fulfillment, social and civic competences, social inclusion and employment communication in the mother tongue, communication in foreign languages, mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology, digital competence, learning to learn, sense of initiative and entrepreneurship; and cultural awareness and expression. Such competences require human qualities like critical thinking, creativity, initiative, ability to solve problems, assess risks, make decisions, communication skills and constructive management of feelings. Such a well-known author as Gardner (2011) calls

for a focus on cultivating creativity and critical thinking, developing students' ability to solve problems, and metacognitive resources.

Definition of learning in terms of competencies emphasizes the importance of knowledge-in-action and highlights the need to link the acquisition of knowledge with the solution of problems. In this regard, the development of key competencies requires situational learning, or learning related to a specific context and specific objectives. The cognitive concept of action, of a planned management process with adaptation to unforeseen aspects of the situation, gives way to a different understanding, according to which the plan is a resource, but one that does not determine the course of situational action. Actions are reconceived in this perspective as embodying emergent properties of interaction between actors themselves, and between actors and an environment of action. Such a perspective is advanced by Tiana and co-authors. They focus their attention on situated learning within contexts and the environmental (social and psychological) climate created in a social group (Tiana et al., 2011, pp. 308–309).

One of the main educational ways to promote lifelong learning through strengthening the ability of students to use their already acquired knowledge in new situations and thus to help them continue learning throughout life. Genuine lifelong learning is devoted to the idea of learning how to learn and relearn (see: Gorbunova, 2013, pp. 68–69). The main issues to be tackled here are problem-solving skills, self-regulation, self-efficacy and flexible creative thinking. Ultimately, the ability to learn and self-learn turns back to the idea of transfer, one of the key research topics in the field of education. This calls attention to certain models of education, namely constructivist and experimental ones, as well as at those which are based on explicit learning and self-directive learning.

Teaching methods required for the development of key competencies should be focused on multidisciplinary, transdisciplinary and intercultural education, combined with an individual approach and team work on projects. Under such conditions, according to Gordon, Halash, Krawczyk and others (Gordon et al., 2009, p. 227), effective education (Ger. *Bildung, Erziehung und Didaktik*) of competencies may become an achievable goal.

Transfer of learning involves the application of knowledge, skills and meta-cognitive abilities to real life situations. This is by no means a simple process. However, interdisciplinary tasks that are carried out in a transdisciplinary framework may be the most promising means for the cultivation of transferable competences and transversal skills. Accordingly, much of educational reform in Europe is focused on cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural competence.

Transferable competencies as an educational goal in the United States

A study conducted by scientists from US institutions of higher education and leading research centers, led by the US National Academy of Sciences (Education for Life and Work, 2012), was devoted to development of transferable competencies as an educational strategy for the 21st century in the United States. Under the leadership of the National Research Council (NRC) a set of key skills and competencies that should form the educational strategy in the United States was defined. These skills were associated with such concepts as "deeper learning", "21st-century skills", «student-oriented learning», «learning for the next generation», «new basic skills» and «higher order thinking». To display a shared vision of what skills and knowledge are intertwined, researchers (NRC) use the term «competence» rather than «skills».

As a way of systematization of the various terms for 21st-century skills and the starting point for further research as to their content and value, the US team identified three broad areas of competence – cognitive, intrapersonal and interpersonal. The researchers attached different 21st-century skills to clusters of competencies in each area. Based on understanding the intersection between them and between the individual skills of the 21st century and broad clusters of competencies, they developed the following primary classification scheme:

The Cognitive Domain comprises three clusters of competencies: cognitive processes and strategies, knowledge, and creativity. These clusters include competencies such as critical thinking, information literacy, reasoning and argumentation, and innovation.

The Intrapersonal Domain comprises three clusters of competencies: intellectual openness, work ethic and conscientiousness, and positive core self-evaluation. These clusters include competencies such as flexibility, initiative, appreciation for diversity, and metacognition (the ability to reflect on one's own learning and make adjustments accordingly).

The Interpersonal Domain comprises two clusters of competencies: teamwork and collaboration and leadership. These clusters include competencies such as communication, collaboration, responsibility, and conflict resolution (Education for Life and Work, 2012: p. 4).

The US study tellingly defined "deeper learning" as a process by which an individual is able to learn what has been learned in one subject area and apply it to a new domain or situation (make a transfer). Transferable knowledge, including knowledge in a particular area and knowledge of

how, why and when to use this to solve problem, is a product of deeper learning. The US team reviewed the national standards and compared them with determination of deeper learning on the latest list of 21st-century skills and discovered significant intersections. The objectives included in the new standards and scientific framework of the NRC in the United States reflect the desire of every discipline to promote deep learning and develop transferable skills and knowledge within the discipline. That is, today's disciplinary purposes go beyond their traditional focus aimed at basic academic content. The promotion of clusters of cognitive competencies, including critical thinking, decision-making on unusual problems, the creation and evaluation of evidence-based arguments, is strongly supported in all disciplines. But learning transfer in each discipline is aimed, above all, at increasing transfer within this particular discipline. Until recently, research studies provided little guidance on how to help students to develop transferable competence that reaches the level of requirements of transdisciplinary education. For this reason, the US study aimed at the identification of training opportunities to make better transfers between disciplines.

The researchers in that study advocate a combination of knowledge and skills as “competencies of 21st century”. These competencies are structured around the fundamental principles of the contents of a field, not around scattered, superficial facts or procedures. Grasping such principles at a deep level, for instance concepts like “diminishing returns” or “marginal costs” in Economics, strengthens the intellectual capacity of students to apply these and similar concepts in new and different situations. Other studies have also highlighted how intra-personal and interpersonal competence helped deeper learning of school and university subjects. Meta-cognition - the ability for reflection on one's own learning and making adjustments - also increases deeper learning. The researchers have concluded: the process of deeper learning is very important for development of transferable 21st-century competencies and their application supports in turn the process of deeper learning in recursive loop that mutually reinforces them (Education for Life and Work, 2012).

Transversal competencies: a UNESCO approach

Based on the analysis of the results of the latest educational research, documented by organizations of international level, we can conclude that there is a global turn in educational policies and practices of different

countries, leading to the rejection of a purely cognitive focus for education and a shift of emphasis toward communicative transcultural and transversal competencies. Evidence of this can be seen in the report *Transversal Competencies in Education Policy and Practice*, prepared by the Director UNESCO (Bangkok) Gwang-Jo Kim (UNESCO, 2015).

It is widely known that the Asia-Pacific region was at the head of global economic development over the last few decades. However, despite the great achievements, the quality of education remains a serious problem. The growing dissatisfaction takes place because the education systems in that region are too heavily focused on the accumulation of academic knowledge and "cognitive" abilities through more elusive and difficult to measure "non-academic" skills and competencies (UNESCO, 2015: p.1).

The UNESCO report on the Asia-Pacific region points out that the consequences of insufficient attention paid to such skills and competencies in education can be seen in a number of areas. They include, for example, lack of respect for diversity (including socio-economic, ethnic and gender characteristics), neglect of environmental issues, lack of innovation and social entrepreneurship among students, uncritical attitude to existing programs and paradigms of learning and activity. It is not difficult to find these same effects in Ukrainian society.

According to the UNESCO study traditional approaches to learning, particularly "academic" subjects, such as mathematics, science and languages are not sufficient to promote the ability to respond to new global challenges. Instead, "non-academic" skills and competencies are increasingly seen as an integral part of students' help in their successful adaptation to a changing world. Such skills and competencies encompass a series of unconventional ideas that include innovative thinking, creativity, adaptability, respect for the other, global awareness and communication.

In the following stages of this study, UNESCO explored the definition and application of "non-academic" skills, often called "non-cognitive skills", of different countries of the region in their policies, practices and system learning programs. It identified emerging trends and issues and determined policy recommendations to promote and strengthen comprehensive and holistic education. At the annual meeting of ERI-Net in October 2013 on the base of UNESCO expert's recommendation was discussed and adopted a unified umbrella term - "transversal competencies".¹

¹ More information about the Annual Meeting 2013 can be found here: <http://www.unescobkk.org/en/education/epr/epr-partnerships/eri-net/eri-netseminar-2013-oct/>.

“Transversal competencies”, sometimes referred to “21st-century skills”, refer to a broad base of skills that are aimed at meeting challenges such as the latest technological advances, transcultural communication and the transdisciplinary nature of scientific knowledge. Transcultural education, in its many aspects, is one of the most relevant content-specific embodiments of global transversal goals in education.

As a basis for research into transversal competencies in education ERI-Net (UNESCO, Bangkok) has developed a preliminary framework for classification. This contains four broad areas of skills, competencies, values and attributes. They are: (1) critical and innovative thinking; (2) interpersonal skills; (3) intrapersonal skills; and (4) global citizenship (cosmopolitanism) (Tab. 1).

Tab. 1. The preliminary definition of transversal competencies, proposed by UNESCO. Source: Gwang-Jo Kim (2015) Regional Study on Transversal Competencies in Education Policy and Practice (Phase I) 2013 Asia-Pacific Education Research Institutes Network (ERI-Net).

Area	Examples of key characteristics
Critical and innovative thinking	Creativity, entrepreneurship, inventiveness, application knowledge skills, reflexive thinking, reasoned decision making
Interpersonal skills	Presentation and communication skills, leadership, organizational skills, teamwork, cooperation, initiative, communication, collegiality
Intrapersonal skills	Self-discipline, enthusiasm, perseverance, self-motivation, empathy, honesty, commitment
Global citizenship	Awareness, tolerance, openness, respect for diversity, inter-cultural understanding, ability to settle conflicts, civil/political participation, respect for the environment

These studies by UNESCO show that all in the Asia-Pacific study are moving toward a growing emphasis on transversal competencies as an agenda for education. It is also clear that the teaching transversal competencies has moved beyond theory and has become an important part of education policy.

The increased emphasis on transversal competencies is determined by several economic, social and humanitarian impetuses. Such impetuses can be summarized in three discourses (economic, social and humanitarian), which correspond to three broad perspectives: global, regional and personal (see: Tab. 2).

Tab. 2. Justification of transversal competencies integration into education. Source: Gwang-Jo Kim (2015) Regional Study on Transversal Competencies in Education Policy and Practice (Phase I) 2013 Asia-Pacific Education Research Institutes Network (ERI-Net).

	Economic discourse	Social discourse	Humanities discourse
Global perspective	Competitiveness	Understanding and peace	Global citizenship
National perspective	GDP growth	Human development index	Patriotism
Personal perspective	Employment	Community/harmony	Moral education

At first sight, the economic discourse is a very strong driver of this movement. At the same time, many countries also produce social and humanitarian discourses in which education is seen as a means to strengthen a number of social, ethical and moral attributes among students, such as national identity, respect for diversity, tolerance and empathy.

Generally, the UNESCO report illustrates an important global movement that highlights a need for education to move beyond acquired knowledge and skills in literacy that were the predominant purpose of education in the economic discourse of formal education since the 1960s. This movement, which is a milestone in education, really meets the era in which we move away from a purely production model of the economy. That is why in the creation of Ukrainian education policy it is important to understand and analyze the global transnational context of education reforms, its main challenges and key requirements (transversal, transcultural, transferable) competencies and to promote their inclusion in educational theory and practice.

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1.3.4 School Moral Education: Does Scholastic Ethical Instruction Need Its Own 'Morality'?

Dariusz Stępkowski

Moral education at school pertains to those public interests which constantly awake many controversies. Sometimes these controversies are expressed by the question: Is it even possible and necessary to shape the morals of the young generation? Perhaps it would be better if parents formed the morals of their children as their exclusive scope of parental rights, according to their own outlook on the world? These questions become even more poignant if we take into account the fact that scholastic moral education is often treated as a substitute for religious education, which complicates this issue even more. On this basis it can be ascertained that ethical instruction in school reflects the central problem of continental *Pädagogik*, its eternal and still-current issues included. When I mention 'issues' here, I mean not only the disputes regarding the need or the lack of necessity of moral education in schools, but also the question which has been expressed in the subtitle of this chapter: *Does scholastic ethical instruction need its own 'morality'?* In this chapter I would like to elaborate on this matter.

The term 'instruction' and not 'education' in the subtitle is used on purpose, because the scope of my thought is narrowed down to the shaping of morality carried out during lessons called 'Ethics'. I am going to use the term 'ethics' although there are other equivalent names for the problem in question. I would like to ask about the 'morality' of Ethics lessons. Of course we all very well know that morality is something that a human being possesses and that the task for school moral education is to help students develop their morality. This is why the word 'morality' in the subtitle is put in inverted commas. I would like to dwell on two questions: firstly, what is the task of scholastic moral education conducted in a form of ethical instruction at school and, secondly, what professional conditions should be complied with by teachers for the Ethics lessons to ensure they do fulfil the expected results.

It is impossible to reply to either question without taking into account the history of moral education and the related philosophy of education. I would like to stress the fact that referring to and remembering about the output of the past has an irreplaceable role in my considerations. With-

out it, it is virtually impossible to recognize the strictly educational task that scholastic moral education should perform. I also believe that in this aspect it is difficult, or not even feasible, to separate the continental tradition of *Pädagogik* and non-continental (that is the Anglo-Saxon) tradition of educational sciences; both traditions were formed on the very same basis – i.e the Greco-Roman ancient culture.

This chapter is divided into three parts. Firstly, I am going to describe compendiously the current state of ethical instruction in schools in Europe, both in its Eastern and Western part. In the second part I am going to reconstruct the evolution of teaching of morality from the Antiquity to modern times. It will take a form of an outline focused around three concepts. These concepts mark three moments in history, when the necessity to widen shaping of morality at home by scholastic ethical instruction became clearer. In the third and last part I will state more precisely what is the ‘morality’ of ethical instruction in school with the help of the theories of Michael Walzer and Klaus Prange.

The current state of school ethical instruction in Europe

In simplified terms we could assume that until the 20th-century moral education was a task and right of the upbringing in family, and in some institutions of socialization outside the family circle, such as the state, the Church, youth organizations or social associations. Although it was present in schools either as an unwritten programme (so-called school discipline) or contained implicitly in the teaching contents, it was not a separate domain of school learning and teaching. The ethical objectives were dispersed within the scope of other subjects, e.g. religious education, history, or knowledge about society. In this context it is worthwhile to remember Emil Durkheim’s standpoint, which he presented during his lectures given in 1903 and later published in the monograph *Moral Education*. In these lectures Durkheim argues that the implicit moral contents in the teaching of other subjects fulfil an important task. The first is providing academic rigour when thinking and the second is indicating how to move from theoretical statements to moral judgements. The function of both is to prevent the formation of ‘oversimplified rationalism’ (Durkheim, 2011, p. 250). The phenomenon of ‘oversimplified rationalism’ is explained by him as follows:

This state of mind is characterized by the fundamental tendency to consider as real in this world only that which is perfectly simple and so poor and denuded in qualities and properties that reason can grasp it at a glance and conceive of it in a luminous representation (*ibid.*).

Durkheim by no means meant by this an unnecessary complication of reality, but rather an attempt to observe it in its complexity. He believed that morality plays an important part in this process and this is why he postulated the secularisation of ethical thinking, i.e. separating it from religious thinking.

Durkheim expected secular scholastic moral education – as paradigmatic as mathematics for him – to help students see subtle differences and carry out a profound analysis of relationships between phenomena, instead of giving ready answers and simple visions of reality. Although in his design of secular moral education shaping of morality in the form of school instruction is not yet mentioned, to my mind this design was a clear presage of the paradigmatic shift which we witness nowadays.

In addition to Durkheim's positing of moral education in schools, although still not as a separate subject, there is another aspect of this issue which should be mentioned here. According to numerous researchers, in the majority of European countries Ethics (or equivalent subjects) has been established in public education system as an alternative to religious education (Schluss, 2010, pp. 93–111; Anhalt, Rucker, 2016, pp. 229–230; Benner, 2016, pp. 13–23; English, 2016, pp. 73–80; Ritzer et al. 2016, pp. 58–61; Stępkowski et al. 2016a, pp. 38–41). It appears that the proposal to introduce school ethical instruction did not stem from any convictions about the necessity of moral education in schools; it sprang rather from the usually political wish to eliminate religious education from the public education system. This process took place in the Eastern Europe after the political breakthrough in 1989–1990, and 20 or 30 years earlier in Western Europe. An in-depth analysis of this process in South-Western Europe can be found in the common monograph edited by Joaquim Pintassilgo (2013).

Only recently did some voices appear proposing compulsory school instruction in moral issues not in opposition to religious education, but rather independently from it. Authors such as Hennig Schluss (2010, pp. 11–15) or Dietrich Benner et al. (2018) believe that introducing school moral education lies in the public interest and has its own sense, regardless of religious education. This idea does not only mean that the two fields – morality and religion – are no longer mutually opposed, but also that the independence of ethical instruction in schools has been accepted. Only by taking this into

consideration can we understand the need of reflection on the ‘morality’ of scholastic way of the moral instruction. However, before I go on to discuss this question in the third part of this chapter, I priorly would like to present the evolution that moral education has gone through – from shaping of morality at home within the frames of political community to the formal requirements of ethical instruction in school nowadays.

Moral education: from transmission at home to instruction in school

Presenting such a complex and non-uniform process of separating Ethics as an autonomous school subject, not only with its own tasks, but also its own ‘morality’ in only three snapshots might seem to be an unacceptable simplification. Before such criticism arises, I would like to stress that my intention is only to outline the history of moral education. I have selected Aristotle, Johannes Bernhard Basedow and Émil Durkheim as the authors whose concepts mark the milestones of the development of the role that school teaching and learning has played in the history of moral education.

Shaping of morality according to Aristotle: social praxis as priority¹

According to Aristotle moral education has to fulfil one fundamental task, i.e. to prepare people to live in a city-state community (Gr. *polis*). Depending on the category of a given person moral education could have three forms. Slaves and those inhabitants of Athens who constantly follow ‘their passions and cannot act rationally’ (Aristotle, 1934, 1179b 3) belong to the first category. Such groups are thought to be unable to lead a morally virtuous life at all. Thus, Aristotle argued that the only educational activity they were fit for was discipline. In *Nicomachean Ethics*, in the introductory part to his considerations about education he argues that no arguments ‘can make them susceptible to the influence of virtue, yet they are powerless to stimulate the mass of mankind to moral nobility’ (ibid.). This stems from the fact that

it is the nature of many to be amenable to fear but not to a sense of honor, and to abstain from evil not because of its baseness but because of the penalties it entails; since, living as they do by passion, they pursue the pleasures akin to

¹ The following section has been prepared on the basis of Benner et al. (2018, pp. 38-54).

their nature, and the things that will procure those pleasures, and avoid the opposite pains, but have not even a notion of what is noble and truly pleasant, having never tasted true pleasure. (ibid., 1179b 4)

Because of that, the lawgiver's task is 'to impose chastisement and penalties on the disobedient and ill-conditioned, and to banish the incorrigible out of the state altogether' (ibid., 1180a 10). The aim of these disciplinary acts was to force their receivers to work and produce goods necessary for the existence of *polis*. Thanks to them the citizens who were able to appreciate the beauty of morality and predestined to contemplation did not have to worry about their everyday needs and were dedicated to the practise of ethical courage, because 'to know what virtue is is not enough; we must endeavor to possess and to practice it, or in some other manner actually ourselves to become good' (ibid., 1179b 2).

Proper moral education was divided by Aristotle into two stages. The first consisted in habituation by means of family upbringing, the second in school teaching and learning. In *Nicomachean Ethics* he elaborates on it as follows:

Natural endowment is obviously not under our control; it is bestowed on those who are fortunate, in the true sense, by some divine dispensation. Again, theory and teaching are not, I fear, equally efficacious in all cases: the soil must have been previously tilled if it is to foster the seed, the mind of the pupil must have been prepared by the cultivation of habits, so as to like and dislike aright. (ibid., 1179b 6)

Familiarizing people with traditions and legal order in the *polis* was essentially different from moral accommodation by discipline and it conditioned the efficacy of moral education to a large extent. The latter was by no means understood by Aristotle as a passive transmission of practical and theoretical knowledge, but as a creative course of acquiring knowledge by someone who has developed good habits at home and who, by dominating his passions, was prepared for the process. He comments:

We must therefore by some means secure that the character shall have at the outset a natural affinity for virtue, loving what is noble and hating what is base. And it is difficult to obtain a right education in virtue from youth up without being brought up under right laws. (ibid., 1179b 8)

In the curriculum prepared for both the members of the middle and

upper categories of *polis* dwellers, Aristotle announces that: 'It is therefore not difficult to see that the young must be taught those useful arts that are indispensably necessary' (Aristotle, 1944, 1337b 3). In his view, young people 'should not be taught all the useful arts, those pursuits that are liberal being kept distinct from those that are illiberal, and [that] they must participate in such among the useful arts as will not render the person who participates in them vulgar' (ibid., 1337b 4). The activities he mentions are the following: reading, writing, calculating, drawing, physical exercise and those types of music that foster a contemplative way of life². Sciences such as physics, metaphysics, philosophy, history, ethics or politics were not included in Aristotle's curriculum. They were exclusive for people of mature age who were fit for leading the most perfect way of life and who were destined for studying in the Lykeion Garden in Athens. Aristotle justified the lack of ethics and politics in his curriculum in one of the first chapters of *Nicomachean Ethics* as follows:

the young are not fit to be students of Political [and Moral - D.S.] Science. For they have no experience of life and conduct, and it is these that supply the premises and subject matter of this branch of philosophy. And moreover they are led by their feelings; so that they will study the subject to no purpose or advantage, since the end of this science is not knowledge but action. And it makes no difference whether they are young in years or immature in character: the defect is not a question of time, it is because their life and its various aims are guided by feeling; for to such persons their knowledge is of no use, any more than it is to persons of defective self-restraint. But Moral Science may be of great value to those who guide their desires and actions by principle. (Aristotle, 1934, 1095 a 5-7)

Aristotle's standpoint facilitates separating the lowest form of perfection (assuming that in this case the word may be used) from its middle and upper forms. However, it is much more difficult to pinpoint the difference between the last two. What unites them is the fact that both are built on the basis of moral education which consists in becoming accustomed to observe traditions and law existing in a given society. However, the task of moral education was not to explain the natural and political order, and less still to explain the final cause that rules those orders. Aristotle believed that explanation of the latter was reserved exclusively for the most excel-

² A detailed description of Aristotle's curriculum can be found in the eight book of his work *Politics* (1944).

lent citizens of Athens, in the form of discursive debates over morality. Nevertheless, already the middle level of education was supposed to familiarise a wider group of the future *polis*' citizens with at least some of the causes of ethical and political state of affairs. However, not all of them were to receive the knowledge about the causes; only those who were thought to be promising and believed to guide their lives according to ethical courage. As for the remaining ones, the same discipline as in the case of slaves was to suffice and be applied.

To sum up, we could say that on one hand Aristotle could see the necessity of giving moral instruction through awards and punishments, on the other, he opted for moral education that aimed at teaching and learning the rules that govern the public moral sphere. Transmitting these rules was divided into two levels – the lower one which was meant to habituate pragmatic knowledge, and the upper which discursively inquired into the final cause of political order and the possibility of its improvement.

Shaping of morality in Basedow's school project: moral habituation and instruction as priority

An 18th-century German reformer of education Basedow became famous for having his name mentioned by Immanuel Kant in his *Lectures on Pedagogy (Über Pädagogik)*. Kant was interested in Basedow's experimental school, called by its founder Philanthropinum and wrote about it as follows:

The only experimental school that in some way started to open the way was the institute in Dessau. We have to admit it despite many mistakes that we could accuse him of [...]. It was the only school which allowed teachers to work according to their own methods and plans and who kept in touch both among themselves and with all other scholars in Germany. (Kant, 2011, p. 445)

This fragment clearly shows that Basedow's school in Dessau was not only closely integrated with the Enlightenment reformist movement, but also constituted an environment which encouraged creation and tests in new pedagogical techniques. Basedow, who lived shortly before the French Revolution (1789), sensed the approaching catastrophe. He could see that life in feudal society had lost its homogenic character defined by rigid class barriers and he prepared students from different social classes to live in a mixed human relationship. In this context it's worth paying attention to what Dietrich Benner and Herwart Kemper thought to be an invention made by Basedow. According to them, Basedow introduced a separate pedagogical profession – an educator, who in the boarding school in Des-

sau was responsible for conceptual preparation and consistent lessons in morality, as well as for the students' comportment in different situations of school life. It is worth explaining who an educator was in this context and to outline the scope of his duties.

According to Benner and Kemper:

Inventing the educator as a teacher responsible for preparing students to the tasks that life brings, whose duty was to keep close relations with them and to shape their social skills was an exceptional achievement of the first education reformation movement in modern times. Educators were supposed to teach the students forms of communication and interaction that surpassed class divisions. These forms became indispensable for schools aspiring to be general preparatory entities. [...]. The new character of the school was shown also in the fact that its students were taught to see each other not only as representatives of given social classes, but also to prepare to the open and unknown future. (Benner, Kemper, 2003, p. 97)

In the Philanthropinum Basedow developed three methods of influence: moral admonition (instruction) (Ger. *moralische Belehrung*), constant educational supervision (Ger. *stetige Aufsicht*) and disciplining through so-called merit boards (Ger. *Meritentafel*). All of these belonged to educators' – i.e. teachers of morality – scope of duties.

According to Benner and Kemper lessons in moral admonition (instruction) were conducted in a way that resembled church sermons. In the first part of the lesson educators described briefly a problem taken from everyday life and then gave the students moral directions, the aim of which was not in the least to 'force the listeners to a blind, monastery-like obedience, but to encourage them to adopt a stance of enlightened obedience' (ibid., p. 120). The enlightened character of such obedience consisted in understanding the essence of the problem and its assessment carried out in compliance with one's own moral perception and adequate social rules.

One of the important components of the curriculum drawn up by Basedow for Dessau school and, at the same time, a substantial financial charge on its expenditure, was educational supervision. Benner and Kemper quote the words of Basedow's contemporary critic, who in one of his anonymous letters says:

Above all, your plan requires students to be constantly under a supervision of a philanthropist – a teacher or an educator of morality; that all they do or fail

to do be meticulously controlled by a supervisor; that all the exercise in wisdom and virtue be not disturbed by purposeful negligence and external influence. The expenditure for a years' stay of one boy in Philanthropinum is enormous.³ [...] How many people in our times can afford to pay so much money for one child? Indeed, there are very few of them. (A. A., 2000, p. 222)

Apart from the financial question, which, by the way, caused constant problems and was one of the reasons for closing down the school, it should be noted that permanent supervision did not promote students' independence and responsibility and even led to their incapacitation.

Basedow's carefully developed concept of disciplining through a system of awards and punishment was contained in a brochure which promoted the creation of Philanthropinum (Basedow, 2003). He described in detail the course of the day, the curriculum and the binding behaviour at school, including the so-called merit board (Ger. *Meritentafel*), which was used to record and count students' merits and misdemeanours noticed by educators. On the basis of its score students were granted privileges, for instance they could go first to the dining-room and choose a better dish from the menu (ibid., p. 88). Basedow's intention was to use students' ambition (Ger. *Ehrgeiz*) to dispose them to accustom new forms of behaviour, such as being helpful, thoughtful, kind etc. Although even his contemporary critics accused Basedow of an attempt to reach a positive objective – moral virtue – through a morally doubtful mean such as ambition, it still proves he recognised correctly the new problem that school education was facing. This problem was the practical way how to shape morality in school conditions.

Shaping of morality according to Durkheim: ethics instruction in school as a priority

The last stage of this cursory reconstruction of the history of moral education is Durkheim's standpoint. In *Moral Education* he formulated an important proposal regarding shaping morality in school conditions, namely:

Morality no longer consists merely in behaving, even intentionally behaving, in certain required ways. Beyond this, the rule prescribing such behavior must

³ A years' fee for school in Dessau amounted to 300-375 guilders. Besides, there was an additional entrance fee in the amount of 30 guilders. In comparison to other private school this was one of the most expensive (Benner, Kemper, 2003, p. 133).

be freely desired, that is to say, freely accepted; and this willing acceptance is nothing less than an enlightened assent. Here it is, perhaps, that the moral conscience of contemporary peoples is confronted with the greatest change: intelligence has become and is becoming increasingly an element of morality. Morality, which originally was completely a function of the act, the content of the behavior that constituted the act, now depends more and more upon knowledge. (Durkheim, 2011, p. 119)

I would like to point out only to the term 'enlightened assent' in the fragment above. From its context it can be deduced that ethical instruction in school, for Durkheim, must be based on understanding and not accustoming, the latter already being considered as insufficient by Basedow.

The introduction of Ethics lessons in schools in the second part of the 20th century was, in some way, a fulfilment of Durkheim's postulate for rational teaching of moral rules, even if Durkheim himself did not plan it to be a separate school subject. Although Ethics became an autonomous subject in schools' curriculum, the way it was carried out was not satisfactory. I should mention here Dietrich Benner and Roumiana Nicolova, who noticed a recent change in the way the presence of Ethics lessons in school is being legitimised. In their paper they write:

It seems that the background for this—not only new, but also thought-provoking—shift in the way the need for Ethics lessons is justified is the everyday experience which shows that in many areas (especially in the family life) it is no longer possible to cultivate and transmit the norms and rules of moral acting only through 'unconscious' socialization; they have to become an object of a planned teaching and learning process. Thus the growing importance of an 'artificial' expansion of the everyday experience through school Ethics lessons, which combine individual and social perspective (Benner, Nikolova, 2016b, p. 23).

The above mentioned three snapshots, which were drawn from the history of moral education, summarise briefly the modification that occurred in the field of the shaping of morality. The modification consisted in a gradual realization of the necessity of introducing moral education as a separate school subject. Its purpose was by no means to replace moral upbringing at home, but to support and complement it. Of course, the review offered above cannot fully explain the complexity of scholastic moral education; it was rather meant as a preparation prior to considering the question of own 'morality' of ethical instruction in school. This question will be the main subject of analysis in the third and last part of this chapter.

Own 'morality' for scholastic moral teaching and learning?

The purpose of studying history is by no means searching for ready solutions to the problems that we are facing nowadays. However, through this study we can understand their sources and their complexity. These observations refer to moral education in a particular way. Contrary to a widespread belief that the growing demand for Ethics lessons has been caused by the progressive secularization process and the crisis of religion in Europe, it should be considered (i.e. the demand for Ethics lessons) from a different point of view. In the previous part of this chapter I demonstrated that moral education had undergone a specific change. It consisted, firstly, in becoming aware of the necessity of transmitting of morality in school and, secondly, in seeking methods suitable for school conditions. I used three concepts of moral education to illustrate the progressive process through which school moral education emerged as an autonomous scope of scholastic teaching and learning. In this part I am going to discuss two questions: firstly, what is the difference between shaping of morality in school and at home and, secondly, what is 'morality' of scholastic ethical instruction. The concepts of two authors, Michael Walzer and Klaus Prange, whom I already mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, will serve as a basis of my considerations.

Moral education plays an important part in Walzer's rich literary output. In this chapter I would like to refer, above all, to his typology of universalistic thinking. In one of his lectures given at Oxford University in 1989, Walzer distinguished two types of universalism. The first was called 'covering-law universalism' (Walzer, 1990, p. 510), and the second 'reiterative universalism' (ibid., p. 513). The first universalism is characterised by its unlimited generality and applicability. This claim is expressed in the absolute character of legal and moral norms formulated on its basis. These norms cover all areas of life without any exceptions.

The second universalism is not only more moderated, but it is also characterised by a certain type of relativism. It does not contain ready 'recipes' that could be learnt and applied to a given problem. On the contrary, issues that belong to the past are kept in the memory and evoked again not to practise memorisation, but to commence a creative dialogue with history and through this dialogue widen the contemporary horizon (ibid., pp. 513–515).

It turns out that the question of universalism becomes crucial, when moral education is treated not as a solution (e.g. to the crisis of religion), but as a problem. This is because those who are responsible for moral

education have to decide what type of universalistic thinking should the young generation be taught. It particularly pertains to shaping of morality in school because, while moral upbringing at home is not obliged to offer a wider horizon of thinking by raising such subjects as politics, economy or religion, moral education in school cannot ignore them. Therefore, the choice between covering-law universalism and reiterative universalism put forward by Walzer touches upon the essence of teaching and learning of morality in school. It does not mean that the choice is narrowed down to only one of two types of universalism. However, before I present my reservations about Walzer's concepts, I would like to consider the position of education as an autonomous sphere within the totality of social life. I believe it has two important consequences when it comes to shaping of morality in school. Unfortunately, even the educators themselves – so theorists as practitioners – are not fully convinced that school education is (at least relatively) independent from other areas of social life and that the rules of school teaching and learning (in this case of morality) should not stem from other types of human activity, but that they should come directly from school educational practice.

A pertinent illustration of what has been said so far is comprised in the words by Pádraig Hogan (2010, p. 170). According to him we are witnessing a progressing colonisation of school. This colonisation, however, is not primarily about different social authority bearers jostling for domination in the sphere of education, but it is about what hits the most critical point of each school's functioning – the appropriation with learning. The main reason for imposing educational practice, so that it fulfils its task, i.e. teaching and learning, in a modern way – and as a consequence, for emerging an increasing number of new colonised forms of learning, according to Hogan, is the lack of 'educational understanding of human understanding itself' (ibid., p. 172). The author sees the prototype of educational understanding of learning and the closely associated teaching in the scene presented by Plato in Book 1 of *The Republic*, when Socrates debates with young citizens of Athens (his students) about what justice is (see ibid., pp. 43–47). According to Hogan, the course of this dialogue makes it necessary to revise the warped opinions on learning and acknowledge that even in the school environment they must be understood 'as a pursuit of truth that is an unfinished and stole an unfinishable, pursuit' (ibid., p. 46). He argues that this is where the pursuit is attributable to the 'integrity of education as learning as an undertaking in its own rights' (ibid., p. 2). Therefore, it is indispensable to search for new forms of effective defense of 'integrity of education' against the 'partisan understanding of education', cogitated outside the

sphere of education, which is dominated by the conviction that education is nothing more than a tool for achieving externally-placed objectives.

According to the above presented demand for respecting the autonomy of education, the question which type of universalistic thinking should be the basis of shaping of morality in school ought not to be decided by any sphere not related to education, but by educational practice itself. In this context, I would like to return to Walzer's typology and ask how does this author understand the term 'reiterate', or multiple repetition. In spite of appearances, not only is this word used in the context of reiterative universalism, which is preferred by Walzer, but also in covering-law universalism. How does he understand the word 'reiterate' then?

We can readily imagine a covering law [as] something like 'Self-determination is the right of every people/nation.' But this is a law that quickly runs out; it cannot specify its own substantive outcomes. For we value the outcomes only insofar as they are self-determined, and determinations vary with selves. Reiterated acts of self-determination produce a world of difference. New covering laws may come into effect, of course, as the production continues. But it is hard to see what value self-determination could have if it were entirely 'covered,' legally controlled at every point. (Walzer, 1990, p. 518)

In the light of this quotation it can be inferred that the function of reiterate is closely connected with self-determination, which, in turn, can take on extremely ambivalent meanings. In the covering-law universalism self-determination denotes closure of space for reflection, in the reiterative universalism, on the contrary, it means opening it. In reference to moral education, applying the first type of universalism means choosing a standpoint and holding on to it faithfully; in the second, universalism decisions are never final and might always be modified, for example as a result of new circumstances. This relativism, however, does not result from instability of rules, but from the inevitable necessity of interpreting and adapting them to current activities.

As I mentioned above, neither Walzer's universalisms cover the whole range belonging to moral education. In order to comprehend fully his educational understanding, it is necessary to ask to whom Walzer grants the power of deciding about the function of reiterate; in other words, who decides if moral education will be a mimetic and conservative repetition according to covering-law universalism, or a creative and innovative one, in line with reiterative universalism?

It is with a certain disappointment that I need to observe that Walzer

in one of his most important works, *Spheres of justice* adopts (with reference to education) the Aristotle rule. According to this rule, education 'is a program for social survival' (Walzer, 1983, p. 197), which always has to adapt to the nature of the given political system; a change in the latter entails adequate modifications in education. To complement this view – but still in line with Aristotle's thought – Walzer adds that political systems by no means need citizens of the same kind, but that their characters need to be diverse. In societies where the education system constitutes a separate sphere of collective life, providing this (i.e. social diversity) is carried out through selection in school (see *ibid.*, p. 198).

With respect to the above, Walzer demands from the education system that it develops its own justice of distributing its products. It ought to be absolutely independent from other types of justice. Nevertheless, in certain contexts, not only does the author retreat from this postulate, but also explicitly negates the right of education to be independent. The following fragment from *Spheres of justice* can be used to illustrate this:

Of course, education is always supportive of some particular form of adult life, and the appeal from school to society, from a conception of educational justice to a conception of social justice, is always legitimate. (Walzer, 1983, p. 198)

Thus, the distributive justice in the field of education should, on one hand, be ruled by its own logic and not heed any other types of fair distribution that are in force in adjoining spheres of life; on the other hand, it should 'always' be ready to adopt another 'conception of social justice' (*ibid.*) Are not these two Walzer's statements contradictory?

Given the above observation, it seems indispensable to modify the understanding of reiterative universalism. A fair distribution may exist only if the goods to be distributed (merchandise, money, God's grace, parental love or anything else) are already prepared in such a way that the only thing left to be done is their distribution. In relation to the state of goods that we encounter in education, it needs to be stated that the processes of education cannot be properly described or understood by means of the categories of distribution. Moreover, distribution is situated between manufacturing and consumption, while education is a specific process, in which mainly production takes place. Due to this, the emphasis is not placed on consumption, but on absorbing, transforming and participating. In educational practice concepts stemming from justice, such as equality of talents or equality of educational opportunity refer to fair conditions of producing knowledge and skills. The axis of transformative reiterations is the rela-

tion between morality and culture. Therefore, if moral education is to fulfil the expectations (such as preparation for further life), it must be based on transformative reiterative universalism. This universalism should form a general framework, within which teaching and learning of morality in school is conducted.

As a complement to the above proposed own 'morality' for shaping of morality in school as ethical instruction, I would like to present three rules of ethics of education developed by a German educational theorist Klaus Prange in a book titled *Die Ethik der Pädagogik* (Eng. *The ethics of education*; 2005). First of all, it has to be explained that the author writes about the norms of pedagogical activity resulting directly from educational practice. In a way, it is a realization of ethical focus of education as a practice in its own right, as postulated by Hogan (2011).

Prange assumes that teacher's activity – teaching – constitutes only half of educational practice and makes sense only in being effective in evoking by student his part, e.g., learning. On this basis Prange verbalises three features of the function of teaching, which, at the same time, state the requirements imposed on teaching: *verständlich*, *zumutbar*, and *anschlussfähig* (Prange, 2005, p. 23). This triad can be translated in English as understandable, rational, and conjunctive. With reference to the shaping of morality in school these requirements mean: firstly, the necessity to adapt ethical instruction to students' level of intellectual and moral development, secondly, to base the transferring of moral objectives on rational grounds and, thirdly, to choose such contents that are coherent or, at least, possible to integrate with students' previous experience. According to Prange, it is unacceptable if teachers (not only of Ethics lessons), instead of broadening students' horizon of moral thinking, use indoctrination and social modelling and abuse their position to manipulate students' beliefs.

The 'morality' for shaping of morality in school as ethical instruction proposed in this chapter not only should be a protection against such abuses, but also – which is much more important – create a space for seeking the right methods of conducting moral education in school. These methods differ fundamentally from those used in moral upbringing at home.

Conclusion

Since the beginning of the 21st century we have witnessed increased efforts aiming for the introduction of moral education in school curricula as

separate lessons, usually called 'Ethics'. These efforts are mainly caused by the rising secularisation in both Eastern and the Western Europe. This way Ethics lesson has been involved in the ideological conflict which neither education nor educational science on its own can solve. The analysis of the evolution of shaping of morality from the Antiquity to the modern times shows us, however, that there are two tendencies to cleave off: the first refers to a clear shift in the age limit when moral education is conducted: from adults to children, and the second tendency consisting in a transition from shaping morality by rather passive accustomising and only rudimentary educating to transmitting to the students theoretical understanding of moral problems and develop their ability to use their own moral judgment. In the light of these two tendencies teaching and learning of morality in school as ethical instruction nowadays requires an adequate didactic framework. This framework should enable such educational actions, that will be consistent with the idea of transformative reiterative universalism, on the one hand, and pursue Prange's three directives: understandable, rational, and conjunctive, on the other.

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aller Orten nach dem Plane des Elementarwerks [The Philanthropinum, built in Dessau, a school of philanthropy and good knowledge for learners and young teachers, poor and rich; a public Fidel-Commission for the perfection of the educational system of all places according to the plan of the Elementary Work]. In Benner, D., Kemper, H. *Quellentexte zur Theorie und Geschichte der Reformpädagogik. Part 1: Die pädagogische Bewegung von der Aufklärung bis zum Neuhumanismus*. Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, pp. 84–92.

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2. HISTORICAL REFLECTIONS OF PÄDAGOGIK

2.1 *Pädagogik* as an Academic Discipline in Central European Countries

2.1.1 The Philosophy of Education of Pavol Hečko and Its Place in Slovak *Pädagogik* of the 19th Century

Milan Krankus

Authors whose views are less well known, and whose works are under-analysed, can still be found in the history of Slovak *Pädagogik*. One author is a philosopher, priest, educational researcher and patriot: Pavol Hečko. He has received little scholarly interest so far, despite his significant contribution to the history of educational thinking in the 19th century; his work is important also from a broader perspective of cultural-political life in Slovakia in the 19th century.¹

As V. Gluchman states, Hečko can be considered “perhaps the most significant philosopher of the second half of the 19th century in Slovakia” (Gluchman, 2008, p. 93). The same is true of his *Pädagogik*. He may be considered one of the most important representatives of Slovak *Pädagogik*, which he tried to build upon a solid philosophical base.

Evaluation of his philosophical as well as socio-cultural and educational work has been changing depending on the era and the ethical-political orientation of authors who have written about him. During the rule of Positivism in the interwar period, he was subjected to considerable criticism mainly due to his religious orientation and his thinking was considered outdated. For example, J. Tvrđý regards his thinking as a theistic-rationalistic reflection on Hegelian philosophy, a delayed sprout of Slavic messianic philosophy, based on Hegelian philosophy of history and its dialectical method and therefore, an insignificant contribution. Tvrđý criticises a lack of broader philosophical education and scope, an “orthodox Protestantism” (Tvrđý, 1932, p. 390) and an uncritical Slavness in Hečko.

¹ Pavol Hečko (1825–1895), an evangelic priest and theologian, philosopher; studied in Banská Štiavnica, Tešín and Bratislava; for a short period of time worked as a tutor, later as a chaplain in Bekešská Čaba and Banská Štiavnica. After being appointed to the office of a priest, he was established in Hodruša until his death, far away from cultural centres, where he dedicated himself to contemplations and cultural activities. From 1860 to 1880 he published a number of educational papers and texts in journals like *Orol*, *Sokol*, *Priateľ školy a literatúry*, *Dennica*, *Letopis Matice Slovenskej* and many others. Many of them remained in the form of a manuscript, including *Pedagogika* written in Latin. He dealt with issues of philosophy, theology, anthropology, aesthetical contemplations, issues of education, current issues of national and social life, Slovak literature and culture; also the issue of the Slovak nation and its position in history and the Slavic culture.

Other researchers of Slovak culture and philosophical thinking before 1948 also consider his philosophy idealistic, orthodox Christian and with no impact on the further development of philosophical thinking in Slovakia (A. Pražák, J. Vlček and others). According to J. Červenka, Hečko inclines to the real-ideal conception of B. F. Trentowski and tries to adapt his messianism to Slovak conditions, but overdoes it and "opens the gates wide to his romantic national enthusiasm" (Červenka, 1948, p. 220). Červenka criticises an exaggerated image of the Slovak world, rhetorical language, even pathos, an impossible ideal, compulsively excessive self-esteem and romantic uncritical attitudes to the messianic mission of Slovaks. Such attitudes include an intensified romanticism, search for an escape from reality in a dream of a better world, and the dominance of sentiment over reality. Critical evaluations of Hečko's opinions as too idealistic appeared also in the post-war period of communist rule. However, from the second half of the 1960s an effort to find positive elements in his work and to recognise his contribution in Slovak philosophical thinking can be observed.

Contemporary research on Slovak culture in Hečko's period strives for a more objective view. Attention is paid not only to his inclination towards messianism but papers that appreciate his effort in the development of Slovak science, education, philosophy and *Pädagogik* have increasingly appeared. M. Hamada believes that Hečko's philosophy is in its core mostly a philosophy of culture as such, particularly Slovak culture, and that "his philosophical orientation is the most significantly reflected in the field of *Pädagogik*" (Hamada, 1992, p. 27).

Regarding Hečko's educational opinions, their analysis still remains in the shadow of research on his philosophy and ethics. They are mentioned in historical-educational works only marginally, usually in a formulation that he was a follower of the Polish philosopher and pedagogue B. F. Trentowski; J. Čečetka, in *Pedagogical Lexicon* regards him more as a philosopher, a follower of idealism, who "is interested mainly in philosophical motivation of problems in education" (Čečetka, 1943, p. 259). Čečetka points to Hečko's interest in national education and "national problems of education" as well as the impact of F. Trentowski and J. G. Fichte on his work. The same author, in *Selection of Slovak Pedagogues*, states that "Hečko displays understanding for lower education and education of the commons, certain requirements of educational realism, however, his genuine domain is the sphere of philosophy, science and higher education. In this regard, he represents a counterweight to the majority of our pedagogues of his era, who turn their attention mainly to the subtle work of lower education" (Čečetka, 1947, p. 158).

M. Novacká and M. Hamada attempt to harmonise the Christian-messianic thinking of Hečko with his educational opinions and to include him in the program of cultural and national development of Slovak society. According to Novacká, Hečko wanted to “justify Slovak science philosophically and fundamentally and to position Slovak *Pädagogik* and education on a solid philosophical basis, which enabled implementation, further development and improvement of his philosophical-cultural project” (Novacká, 1978, p. 189).

Philosophical foundations of Hečko’s *Pädagogik* and His conception of the human

Hečko was inspired predominantly by the philosopher B. F. Trentowski, by Polish philosophy and messianism and by Russian Slavophilia, German romantic philosophy, mainly Hegelian philosophy, and finally by Protestant theology. He translated and published Trentowski’s texts and amended them with his ideas. He considers him a great philosopher, “superior to other great German philosophers” (Hečko, 1875, p. 22).

Attempting to categorise Hečko within the movement of the Štúr generation,² it needs to be stated that Slovak culture, literature and art of the 19th century were under the impact of romanticism, which as a European cultural phenomenon dominated literature, philosophy, aesthetics and *Pädagogik* although it displayed particular features across countries, from the end of the 18th century to the first half of the 19th century. An abundance of romantic features can be found also in the *Pädagogik* of Hečko, which can be described as romantic-messianic.

Broadly, two types of Slovak romanticism can be identified, a pragmatic-objectivistic compromising romanticism and a messianic-uncompromising pan-spirituality (Čepan, 1973, p. 139). Hečko can be included in the second type. He belongs to the cultural-political movement of the Štúr generation of the 1860s, among those authors who “found inspirations in the anti-Hegelian argumentation of the later Schelling (Dupkala, 1996, p. 8). This represents a variant of anti-Hegelianism for which “different evaluation of rationalism and understanding of the absolute and a different attitude to

² The Štúr movement – the main stream of the Slovak national movement in the mid-19th century under the leadership of L. Štúr, ideologically under the impact of Hegelian philosophy and romanticism. It promoted political, cultural, social and national demands. Its followers were active in literature and contributed to the formation of the Slovak national life fundamentally.

the issue of social transformation is typical" (Várossová, 1973, p. 136). This way of thinking appeared in the time when the ideals of Štúr's Hegelianism got exhausted and it was necessary to respond to the socio-cultural situation in a new intellectual manner, to set new goals and to search for new ways of national life. In this situation, several Slovak national personalities, cultural leaders and authors became increasingly interested in Polish messianic philosophy and literature. Educational issues were explored the deepest by Hečko.

In regard to conceptions of humanity, Hečko, like Trentowski, called his philosophy real-ideal. Hečko joins Trentowski's criticism of the Western spirit and thinking, mainly the philosophy of the Romanic and Germanic nations and its differences. He follows Trentowski in urging the creation of a new, Slavic philosophy, based on overcoming empiricism and speculativeness, realism and idealism. The empirical spirit of the Romanic nations has, according to him, a receptive, sensual character; while a metaphysical, speculative approach to reality is typical of the Germanic nations. The new Slavic philosophy is characterised by an overcoming of these sectional attitudes; a move which creates a new "complex philosophy". According to Hečko, the truth does not lie strictly in the real or ideal extreme of science, but it lies in the connection of the real and the ideal. Recognition of the real-ideal truth means a genuine understanding of reality in its unity of matter and spirit.

On Hečko's view, a unity of the real and the ideal constitutes human themselves as a part of the divine spirit. A universal whole, "the third, divine world", is a unity of reality and ideality, it is knowable by mind and its recognition is the task of philosophy and education. A human is an ideal-real being, a divine spirit in matter, whose determination is, through development of his/her own strengths, to reach perfect humanity, to be an intermediary between God and the world, to create a god-human world. A central notion of Hečko's *Pädagogik* is the concept of a god-human and divinity. It is based on an idea that a human being, and humanity itself, have a potential within themselves to become "divine", thanks to one nature with God. A human mind is a "mirror" of God's mind, but has a significant autonomy and freedom to change and transform the created being, to complete the "divine creation". The origination of a god-human, and the development of their immanent divinity, takes place in history. Accordingly, this divinity should be fully developed in the process of development of human cognition and morality at an individual level as well as the level of the whole humankind. Divinity is an attribute of humankind and the spirit of the new era in particular; the development of science and knowledge

awakens the feeling of equality to God. It leads to the peak of “god-humanity” by an ability to create God’s kingdom on earth (growth of freedom, rationality, humanity and perfection of a human).

The awakening of divinity in a human and the human’s advancement (nation’s and humankind’s advancement) to god-humanity, to perfection, forms the basis of Hečko’s *Pädagogik*. Development of one’s own strengths, the perfect humanity, according to him, heads towards fulfilment of the Christian perfection in the first place; he rejects any humanism without Christian faith and morality. Building the kingdom of God on earth is not primarily a material development of humankind and its social structures. Neither is it the achievement of earthly prosperity. Rather, it is the building of a real and genuine Christian society. In Hečko’s view, a human needs to be approached from three positions – a member of nature, a unity of spirit and an image of God (Hečko, 1873, p. 52).

In understanding the human, Hečko approaches Schelling’s philosophy, mediated by Trentowski. A human, according to him, consists of body and soul (reality and ideality), a human is a unity of nature and spirit, a divine spirit in matter. Therefore, a human is the peak of creations, God-like with an infinite potentiality to knowledge and creation of reality. A human is a “bodily-spiritual, real-ideal being that belongs to both worlds, earthly and heavenly, individualised in body, a God-like, sensible and immortal spirit” (Hečko, 1873, p. 55). A human is the only creation whose determination is to improve and who needs education in order to develop their nature up to the level of perfect humanity and in order to become aware of their god-human nature. The mission and determination of a human in this world is the development of their inner side, reason, morality and faith, accomplishment of the truth, genuine humanity, establishment of the kingdom of God on earth and achievement of salvation.

Philosophy of education

Hečko assigns a fundamental importance to philosophy, whose practical significance for education of humanity is provided predominantly by *Pädagogik*. He considers *Pädagogik* to be applied philosophy, a philosophical program of transformation of humans through their moral and intellectual development.

In understanding education, similarly to Trentowski, Hečko follows the transition from the state of *in potentia* to *in actu*, a disposition in the human to a developed humanity and Christian perfection. The role of educa-

tion is the awakening and development of the potential divinity of a pupil. All of the human developmental possibilities are contained in humans only potentially and are realised only in the process of their formation and are directed towards completeness, towards the perfection of a human. The role of education is to examine this process of refining of a human and to form a child "in God's image". The God-human world, the perfect humanity may be, according to Hečko, achieved by improvement of one's self, by development of physical and mental strengths, because "the spirit of an individual human is not what it ought to be immediately since it develops and improves in every human in its own way" (Hečko, 1873, p. 55). He sets the conception of a "real human", whom one becomes by a "general development of strengths and possibilities slumbering in them", against any empirical and metaphysical-speculative anthropology (Hečko, 1870, p. 26). This takes place individually, and in regard to humankind as a whole, in the process of historical development. Thanks to freedom and activity, a human can develop and fulfil their place in a nation and humankind, and can bring their contribution to the great work of the development of human spirit, to culture. In a "real human", the development of rational understanding has to come in unity with moral action based on the Christian understanding of morality and Christian values. As regards understanding education, Hečko follows the basic structure of a human, which is body, soul and spirit, and its subordination to the principle of real-ideality. Physical education corresponds to the principle of reality, mental education to the principle of ideality, overall education to the real-ideal principle. Further on, he distinguishes three environments of education: family, school and public life. Education since the earliest age takes place in a family and school and an adult individual completes his/her education in the public life. In an article *Human and His Education*, Hečko distinguishes three ways of education: 1) through development of physical strengths and capabilities and through awakening of discernment, 2) through development of spiritual gifts, thinking, knowing of the truth, 3) through development of self-awareness and spiritual-moral character of a human, that is, through awakening of the idea of good (Hečko, 1861, p. 16). A child should be educated in unity of physicality and spirituality, as a complete being.

Education, for Hečko, begins in a family. Parents should lead their child towards proper body movements, they should lead them to physical work, perseverance and hard work from an early youth. It should cultivate senses and awaken an interest in physical and spiritual beauty. Besides, every child should learn a craft, regardless of whether it will be their profession, because it is the best way to develop their physical strength and capability.

Through physical activity their health improves, they learn to value physically working people and, in case of need, they can find a livelihood opportunity (ibid., p. 22). The aim of education is physical and mental perfection.

Mental perfection, Hečko continues, means careful development of mental abilities. In the process of spiritual development, a child is aware of the world around them, creates the world of notions, gets to know the truth, feels and acts, because they have emotions, will and the ability to act. The basis of mental education, too, is laid in a family. A child learns a language, listens to stories, gets to know everything at home and around home and acquires a first knowledge about God and soul. The most important place of physical and spiritual development and moral improvement, formation of mind, emotion, humanity and decency is, however, on Hečko's view, the school that provides spiritual-moral development.

Hečko distinguishes two directions of human attempts to understand the world based on the fundamental distinction of directions of philosophical thinking – empiricism and rationalism. In each of them a different type of education prevails. The first one follows an immediate empirical and sensual experience and acknowledges only the outside world of matter (realism, sensualism, materialism). In the Romanic nations, Hečko claims, “the direction of a realistic and material spirit, science and education prevails, focused on cognition of the outside world and sensuality. Therefore, mainly natural science and materialism developed there” (Hečko, 1872, p. 70). The second direction is represented by the ideal German education based on speculative philosophy of idealism. “Germans, even though they are practical and examine also nature, deal mainly with spirit, ideas, sciences, philosophy, education. They turn everything into an idea and do not work on the real-ideal development of humankind. Their main fault is that founded on their spiritual superiority they want to conquer other nations and to impose their language and education on them and they want to germanise others and enforce their culture on them” (Hečko, 1872, p. 75). Hečko evaluates education in these nations, their pedagogues and their opinions from the real, ideal and real-ideal perspective and concludes with a requirement for a new Slavic education that should not let itself be carried along with delusions of either real or ideal understanding.

Hečko's proposal of organisation of education and science

Hečko indicates a remarkable plan of organisation of schools that he categorises into elementary, real and scientific. A rise from the real to

the ideal, which is typical also of Trentowski's approach to the process of cognition of reality, can be observed. Based on occupational training, he distinguishes among grammar schools, real schools, teacher seminaries, theological institutes, academies of law, art schools, academies and universities. At each level, he examines the content of education and subjects, emphasising their importance from the perspective of utilisation for the development of the Slovak nation. In all of this, he follows closely his conception of the real-ideal reality (human and divine world) and the ways of cognition of the truth. In an article entitled *Considerations on Studying of Our Youth* (Hečko, 1871), he discusses the content of education in individual types of schools, i.e. elementary schools, grammar schools and real schools. He requires study of reality, and at the same time education of a moral human with dignity and Christian feeling.

The so-called scientific schools are the true domain of the spirit, where the spirit is best developed through searching for general as well as special truth. In regard to the existing scientific schools, grammar schools and academies, he criticises a lack of true scientific spirit, a one-sided logic and psychology, a lack of disciplines such as anthropology, metaphysics, philosophy of history and law, history of humankind. He also criticises the reading of antique classics instead of modern and national authors. Physical and mental perfection are not sufficient for education of a perfect human if they are not joined by a complex education that unites them. The role of this complex education is the development of self-esteem and will, the cultivation of its spiritual-moral character and the awakening of the idea of good. This is the main task of academies and universities and it continues further in scientific, literary and religious societies and public life as such, where the education of an individual is completed.

Hečko deals also with the issue of Slovak teachers and their social position. Teachers, according to him, should be of the same nationality as their students and they should be educated in a specific Institute of *Pädagogik* at a university. They should not be taught by priests. Except Slovak they should speak the root languages of the Habsburg monarchy (German and Hungarian) and be educated in the national spirit. He requires teachers to have perfect mastery of the mother tongue, logical thinking, anthropological-psychological knowledge about a child, and knowledge about children's abilities and development. Teachers should also have knowledge of the Socratic method of teaching, of demonstration teaching, of the subject being taught, of occupational engagement, and a good knowledge of religion. In relation to their beliefs and moral capabilities they should exemplify morality, love and fidelity to the church and nation, patience, the

ability to gain respect and authority, wisdom and not least, the ability to maintain discipline.

Following the model of Trentowski, Hečko also wants to offer a spiritual and cultural alternative for the Slovaks and the Slavic nations to the dominant European culture, mainly German and French, to which he has sometimes an exceedingly negative and critical attitude. He wants to set the so-called real-ideal system of the Slavic philosophy and science against the prevalent currents of Western philosophy. In his messianic understanding of the role of Slovaks and Slavness, he requires the creation of a Slovak science as a part of a specific Slavic science “so that the Pan-Slavic spirit and life shot forth” (Hečko, 1868, p. 64).

This science follows the existent “God-created reality” and should help to develop and fulfil roles that await the Slovak nation. In his messianic belief, Hečko reaches heights of fantasising. He offers an uncritical justification of specialties and qualities of the Slavic nations, including Slovaks, who should become the moral and intellectual core of Slavness. According to him, the brightest future of all nations awaits Slavs. They will excel in science, art, state administration, justice, goodness, selflessness, love, morality and Christian humanity. They will redeem humankind by carrying out the gospel of Christ among nations and liberate all the oppressed.

A representative of the new Slovak-Slavic science, which should become a pan-human possession, ought to be, according to Hečko, a scholar and scientist. New requirements are laid upon him and Hečko sketches a romantically enthusiastic, even ideal image of him. The Slovak scholar ought to be educated at the highest level, he ought to master all the knowledge in the world and all the time and he ought to combine faith, science, belief and national awareness. He ought to try to pass his knowledge to the nation in the most accessible way and thus, develop “education and praise its morality and humanise and nationalise it perfectly” (*ibid.*, p. 65). The Slovak scholar will not just imitate scientific progress in the world, but will create a perfect, pan-human science so that he would redeem not only his nation, but the whole of humankind, through the perfect synthesis of the real and the ideal, which accepts all the positives of the sciences of other nations and transforms them in the Slavic and Slovak spirit.

The most important aim of education and national philosophy is the creation of a system of Slovak national education. According to V. Gluchman, “almost all of Hečko’s philosophical and ethical considerations dealt with the issues of nation, nationality, social progress and morality, usually addressing the past, present and the future of the Slovak nation and Slavs as such” (Gluchman, 2008, p. 42).

National education, in Hečko's view of it, should bring the nation to a higher degree of humanity, "true humanity", national self-awareness, through formation of mental-moral features and integrity. It should lead to salvation through the truth, beauty and good. It leads to engagement and action, it awakens national spirit and the belief in people's own creative abilities. According to Hečko and his messianic philosophy, every individual and nation are called on to fulfil their distinguished role in the development of humanity. Such an understanding of a human and nation gives a strong impulse to pedagogical optimism and activism. To educate a "national human" means, according to Hečko, to awaken awareness of their nationality, language, spirit, customs, thinking, character, emotions, morals and education of the nation, love for the nation; it means to affect humanity and its spiritual-moral development through the nation, to lead it to "complete humanity". "Here, a complete human is developed, their physical, spiritual and moral strengths are educated, they become who they are determined to become" (Hečko, 1861, p. 48). National awareness has to be awakened already in a family by using mother tongue, maintenance of national customs, songs, folk tales etc. School should be a follow-up to the family education, should teach solely in the mother tongue, pay attention to its beauty and richness, guide towards reading of the Slovak authors, guide towards creative writing, pay attention to personalities of one's own nation in the first place, point out attractive national customs, emphasise national virtues and fight against national vices. Education in the national spirit means, at the same time, emotional education, cognitive education and aesthetical education, education of the truth, beauty and good, which results in enrichment of the whole nation and growth of its perfection. Education has to lead to cordial love of the home country so that "everyone would see their own well-being and glory in the well-being of the home country". Education to patriotism and sacrifice for the nation is for Hečko thus one of the basic orientations of education. Only in this manner can a human become a real citizen who values their nation.

Besides the national principle, the second feature of Hečko's vision of national education is its Christian character. Its highest role is to educate a human to be a good Christian, because this is where the highest perfection and true humanity reside. According to Hečko, a human educated in this way will be a citizen and a human of high status, a man of the nation and a Christian human. The role of the education of Slovaks is to contribute to implementation of the historic mission of the Slavic nations in the form of their primacy in philosophy, morality, religious faith, culture and humanity. They should become an "intellectual-moral unifier of Slavness"

and a carrier of the idea of pan-Slavic reciprocity and solidarity. Through the idea of the national and Christian character of education Hečko offered conceptions of Slovak intellectuals that later formed the ideology of the Slovak National Party.

Conclusion

Even though Hečko was inspired by the ideas of Trentowski and the German romantics, it was the issue of the Slovak nation and its future that was his concern in the first place. While by Trentowski, a bourgeoisie-liberal way of thinking, although often in a mystified form, dominates, by Hečko, the national-Christian aspect prevails. But he tries to approach reality and real problems of the Slovak national life and to “change reality”.

Following messianic ideas, Hečko proposed a Christian-national and cultural-educational project of further development of Slovak society. This was supposed to reside mainly in the spiritual and moral area, in the development of education and humanity, dignity and freedom of a human. Accordingly, his philosophy and his *Pädagogik*, particularly their many challenges, were oriented primarily to educated classes, intelligentsia and scholars; in short, to those who are influential in the society. Hečko honestly attempted to uplift the nation in a belief that through the spiritual-moral and cultural development and the development of education Slovaks would not be lost among other nations. On the contrary, they would be lifted up among the first nations in Europe. Thus, he significantly contributed to strengthening of national identity and the hope for a better future. He created a plan of organisation for Slovak education from the lowest degree up to university. In conditions that were not favourable for the development of national life at all, he promoted the need of national philosophy and science. Although he is an eclectic in many respects, he laid the foundations of Slovak *Pädagogik*.

His project of cultural and educational development of Slovak society is the most complex proposal that was presented to the public in the second half of the 19th century, even though it could not have been implemented in practice. His philosophy of education was not developed theoretically or practically further and won few followers. In the 1880s moreover, messianism as an idea got exhausted. Attempting to categorise Hečko within the history of educational thinking in the 19th century in Slovakia, it has to be stated that his thoughts on education considerably outclass, at the theoretical level, the didactic and methodological manuals of the time, including even the best-known *Education Science* by S. Ormis. Obviously, he could not have

a profound influence on thinking and discussions about *Pädagogik* and its character in the existing socio-political conditions. But his work is a proof of active Slovak–Polish cultural relations in the second half of the 19th century, a theme which has not been sufficiently examined so far. Considering this point of view, Hečko deserves attention and an objective, theoretically grounded inclusion in the history of educational thinking in Slovakia.

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2.1.2 The Development and Status of *Pädagogik* in Slovakia since the Establishment of Czechoslovakia¹

Blanka Kudláčová

The aim of this chapter is to examine the development of *Pädagogik* as an academic discipline in Slovakia since the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918. The first part discusses the instituting, teaching and development of *Pädagogik* within university education at the Faculty of Arts at Comenius University in Bratislava (in the interwar period); the second part is focused on changes in the ideological foundations of *Pädagogik* in two totalitarian regimes (in the period of the first Slovak Republic in 1938–1945 and in the period of communist rule in 1948–1989); and the third part outlines the struggle for the character of *Pädagogik* after the socio-political changes in 1989.² Rajský has stressed the point that “the twentieth century became for Slovakia a century of constant new beginnings on the grave of previous failures and sacrifices. Within a distance of one hundred years, it is possible to assess this development as painful and difficult, but also as a story of success” (Rajský, 2016, p. 50).

***Pädagogik* as part of university education and its development in the interwar period**

Pädagogik as an independent academic discipline became a part of university education a little later than in the neighbouring countries. The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 meant for Slovaks a negative interference into the process of national emancipation and “opened the gates wide for Magyarisation” (Čečetka, 1940, p. 67). This was reflected mainly in the area of culture and education. The situation changed with the origination of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, when a new stage in the history

¹ The study originated with the support of the project of the Ministry of Education of Slovak Republic: VEGA No. 1/0038/17 *Educational Thinking, Educational System and Education in Slovakia from 1945 to 1989*.

² The history of Slovakia in the 20th century needs to be perceived in a broader, Czechoslovak context, since the Czech lands and Slovakia established a common state in 1918 and the co-existence lasted for almost 70 years. The community of teacher educators and educational researchers of these two countries has cooperated closely even after the peaceful separation of Czechoslovakia in 1993.

of Slovak statehood began. One of the primary tasks became the restoration and building-up of education, connected to the urgent need to prepare new generations for individual fields of political, social and economic life. The biggest problem for Slovak *Pädagogik* in this period was a missing generation of Slovak educational researchers, as well as a dearth of institutions in which educational sciences would develop and new generations of teachers would be trained (Kudláčová, 2014). According to Krankus, in this early period of the republic, *Pädagogik* as an academic discipline in Slovakia actually did not exist" (Krankus, 2016, p. 113).

During the first Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1938) Comenius University (henceforth CU) in Bratislava was the only university in Slovakia that provided education in the field of humanities and social sciences. It was established by law in 1919. The greatest problem associated with its establishment was the provision of sufficient numbers of Slovak professors for the individual fields of study. The Faculty of Arts was meant to become: 1) a bastion of national awareness in humanities and social sciences, 2) a major centre of research in Slovakia, 3) a cultural and educational institute for Slovakia (Hanuš and Weingart, 1925).

The first mention of a need for the provision of *Pädagogik* at the Faculty of Arts CU in Bratislava can be found in the Protocol of the Professor Assembly Meeting of 20th January 1921 (orig. *Protokol zo schôdze Profesorského zboru zo dňa 20. januára 1921*): "Prof. Pražák proposed Dr. Otakar Chlup, an associate professor of *Pädagogik* at Masaryk University in Brno, to supply teaching of *Pädagogik* already in 1922".³ The proposal was adopted unanimously by the professor assembly of the Faculty of Arts. The Ministry of Education and National Awareness (henceforth MENA) then deputed Prof. O. Chlup, by a letter No. 92247/22, "to supply 5 lectures on *Pädagogik* and 2 seminars in the same field" beginning in the academic year 1922/1923.⁴ This meant that *Pädagogik* formally became a part of education at the Faculty of Arts CU in Bratislava.

The pedagogical seminar was established a year later, in the academic year 1923/1924. MENA approved the *Statutes of the Pedagogical Seminar, Faculty of Arts*, CU in Bratislava by a letter No. 143.609/IV on 9th October

3 Archive of the CU, Faculty of Arts CU, Coll. A-1, 1921–1931, box No. 5, Protokol o schôdzi Profesorského zboru FF UK v Bratislave zo dňa 20.1.1922 (tr. The Protocol on the Meeting of the Professor Assembly of the Faculty of Arts, CU in Bratislava from 20th January 1922), p. 1–2.

4 Archive of the CU, Faculty of Arts CU, Rectorate Coll., Personnel Department, reg. mark. B II/2, personal file of Prof. Otakar Chlup, box No. 73.

1923.⁵ It was the first academic institution focused on the development of scientific *Pädagogik* and secondary school teacher training in Slovakia. A model for organisation of the Bratislava-based Pedagogical Seminar was the Pedagogical Seminar at Charles University in Prague, which was established by Prof. Gustav Adolf Lindner in 1882.⁶ The Prague seminar provided three Czech professors of *Pädagogik* who led the Pedagogical Seminar in Bratislava from its establishment until 1938: Prof. Otokar Chlup 1923–1927, Prof. Josef Hendrich 1928–1937 and Prof. Jan Uher in the academic year 1937/1938).

Following the first point of the Statutes, the aim of the pedagogical seminar was to “educate its members for independent scientific work in the field of *Pädagogik* while it is necessary to take into consideration the issues of secondary schools both from the perspective of theory and practice”.⁷ Regarding the character of *Pädagogik*, since it was led by Czech professors in the interwar period, it was influenced by the development of *Pädagogik* and educational discussion in the interwar Czech lands.⁸ The three Czech professors inclined to a philosophically oriented *Pädagogik* and they shared a critical view of quantitatively oriented educational directions and pedagogical pragmatism (Kudláčová, 2016a). It can be inferred that their lectures at the Pedagogical Seminar in Bratislava that shaped their students, prospective teachers, had a philosophical orientation too. This can also be discerned from their publications and journal studies in Czech and Slovak journals. The pedagogical seminar was led the longest and influenced the most by Prof. Hendrich. Hendrich accepted Slovak cul-

5 Archive of the CU, Faculty of Arts CU, Coll. A-1, 1921–1931, box No. 5, Protokol o schôdzi Profesorského sboru FF UK v Bratislave zo dňa 10.11.1923 (tr. The Protocol on the Meeting of the Professor Assembly of the Faculty of Arts, CU in Bratislava from 10th November 1923), Part IV. Missives, Point 19.

6 Prof. G. A. Lindner (1828–1887) brought up a generation of Czech followers of Herbartism, who shaped Czech *Pädagogik* (F. Drtina, F. Čáda, J. Durdík, O. Kádner, O. Hostinský). Herbartism in the Czech *Pädagogik* was gradually replaced by Positivism; its followers being J. Úlehl, F. Krejčí, F. Drtina; Drtina diverted from Positivism later on. Another generation, qualified in the period of O. Kádner’s season at Charles University, followed; e.g. V. Příhoda, J. Hendrich, O. Chlup, whose direction was already diversified, which created opportunities for rich educational discussions.

7 Archive of the CU, Rectorate of CU, Coll. C-9, 1921–1931, box No. 96, Statutes of the Pedagogical Seminar.

8 The discussion regarded mainly a dispute between a conception of quantitatively oriented *Pädagogik* (positivist and later pragmatic and behaviouristic) and philosophically, normatively and spiritually-scientifically oriented *Pädagogik* (known also as the Příhoda – Chlup dispute). According to Pánková, Kasperová and Kasper (2015, p. 14), the discussion was “a proof of scientific maturity on the one hand and scientific openness of the Czech interwar educational theory on the other”.

ture and became influenced in important respects by Slovak traditions and practices. During his time in Slovakia, Hendrich also established the State Academy of Education in Bratislava⁹ (orig. Štátna pedagogická akadémia v Bratislave) and became its first director (1930–1937). His greatest achievement in the development of education in Slovakia was the fact that he gained Juraj Čečetka for Slovak *Pädagogik*, who habilitated during the last year of Hendrich's stay at the Faculty of Arts (1937).

The second stage in the development of the Pedagogical Seminar in CU dates to 1938,¹⁰ when the first Slovak, Prof. Juraj Čečetka (1907–1983), became its director. Čečetka is the founder of modern Slovak *Pädagogik* and he is also the first Slovak university professor of *Pädagogik* (J. Pšenák, 2005). He graduated in philosophy and French at Charles University in Prague, where he met significant Czech figures in the field of *Pädagogik* (e.g. O. Kádner) and psychology (e.g. F. Krejčí, V. Příhoda). This led him to a decision to deal with educational psychology, which he viewed as a synthesis of psychology and *Pädagogik*. As suggested earlier, Prof. Hendrich introduced him to the field of *Pädagogik* and under his leadership Čečetka habilitated in this field. He started to lecture on at the pedagogical seminar in the academic year 1937/1938. He was appointed an associate professor in *Pädagogik* in the autumn of 1939 to lead the pedagogical seminar, as Prof. Uher had to leave Slovakia due to the forced separation of the Czechoslovak Republic by Nazi Germany. Čečetka was appointed a full professor in *Pädagogik* in 1940. He was ready to guide educational thinking and conceptions of teacher training in Slovakia.

9 According to Pánková, Kasperová and Kasper (2015), the Czech teachers managed to associate with a scientific elite who were developing the field of *Pädagogik* and psychology in a dynamic manner and, as a result, the issues of the reform of education and teacher training were not planned and implemented only from the bottom, but under a professional guidance and leadership of important pedagogues and psychologists. These activities resulted in the foundation of the School of Higher Educational Studies in Prague (orig. Škola vysokých štúdií pedagogických v Prahe) and the Pedagogical School in Brno (orig. Pedagogická škola v Brne), both focused on teacher training of burgher school teachers in four-semester courses. Continuation of this effort was the Czechoslovak Private Faculty of Education in Prague (orig. Československá súkromná pedagogická fakulta v Prahe), established in 1929, later renamed as the Private Academy of Education (orig. Súkromná pedagogická akadémia) (led by Prof. O. Kádner). Pressure from teachers, in conjunction with MENA, led also to the establishment of one-year academies of education in Bratislava (1930), in Prague and Brno (1931), which provided a one-year-long post-graduate teacher training for secondary school graduates.

10 Čečetka led the pedagogical seminar until 1950, when under the Higher Education Act (No. 58/1950 Coll. of Laws of the Czechoslovak Republic) seminars were replaced by departments.

The developing educational discussion in the interwar period in Slovakia is demonstrated by a number of educational journals that were mainly a platform of various educational associations. Lopatková (2016) specified 13 educational journals with a nationwide coverage, which originated after 1918. Besides these, there existed educational journals with regional coverage. It was precisely in journals that the character of *Pädagogik* was shaped.

In the interwar period in Slovakia, educational reform, whose ideological leader was, as in the Czech lands, Václav Příhoda, started to develop too. The most notable Slovak pioneer was František Musil.¹¹ According to Krankus, “in 1918–1938 in Slovakia there occurred significant progress in the development of educational thinking and an orientation toward world educational thinking was deepened. The inclination to empiricism and practice can be considered a positive fact both in the Czech and Slovak *Pädagogik*” (Krankus, 2016, p. 113), including the associated educational discourses.

***Pädagogik* in ideological bondage: nationalist-religious doctrine during the first Slovak Republic and Marxist–Leninist ideology during the communist era**

In 1939, major political changes that were a reaction to the Munich Agreement and the impending war took place in Slovakia. Even before the outbreak of the war the Slovak Republic was declared on 14th March 1939. The Slovak nation had an independent state for the first time in history, which was accompanied by corresponding enthusiasm and a related development of culture and economy on the one hand, but on the other hand, there was a significant political impact of Nazi Germany. The only ruling power became Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party; and an authoritarian regime whose ideological “father” was a Catholic theologian and philosopher, Štefan Polakovič, was implemented (Rajský, 2016). Slovak education started to adapt to political requirements and *Pädagogik* started to develop in a National-Socialistic variant, dominated by an emphasis on national Christian and patriotic education (Krankus, 2016). The centre of the interest was mainly German *Pädagogik* and the German system of educa-

¹¹ See also Lukáč: *Reformné pedagogické hnutie v období ČSR a jeho prejavy na Slovensku*, 2002; Kudláčová: National Character of the Educational Reform Movement in Slovakia in the Interwar Period, *History of Education & Childrens Literature*, 2015, pp. 317–337.

tion, which is documented by articles in several journals (e.g. *Pedagogický sborník* [tr. Pedagogical Proceedings]; cf. Valkovičová, 2015). Historical-educational publications from the period before 1989, e.g. J. Mátej (1976),¹² *Pedagogická encyklopédia Slovenska 1 and 2* [tr. Pedagogical Encyclopaedia of Slovakia] edited by O. Pavlík (1983,1984) assess the field of education in the period of the first Slovak Republic negatively. However, up to now, outcomes of a more complex research of this short but complicated period that would provide an objective and definitive assessment have been missing.

Čečetka had to face the ideology of the Slovak state and its manifestations in this new political environment. The period of WWII was scientifically very fruitful in his life; he published notable works pedagogical works and was active also in the field of journal publications.¹³ He influenced the character of educational discussion in Slovakia the most and addressed himself to the reform of the system of education. My research suggests that he could not resist the impact of the regime and the ideology of the period. In his book publications this influence can be traced minimally; however, orientation on the German fascist school system and education is demonstrated in his articles published in journals, and also in a change of the content focus of the journal *Pedagogický sborník*.¹⁴

The question remains, how much this tenor reflected his personal conviction and how much acquiesced in the dominant ideology in order to be able to publish the journal and prepare the reform of the Slovak education (Kudláčová and Valkovičová, 2015). From 1943 on, Čečetka's fewer publications in the *Pedagogický sborník* can be observed, as well as a change of

12 "The Slovak *Pädagogik* did not make much progress in the period of the clerofascist state compared to the development during the bourgeois Czechoslovak Republic. The leading representatives of the people's ideology sought to subordinate education to their goals. They wanted *Pädagogik* to be fascist and religious like in the Nazi Germany and the fascist Italy" (Mátej, 1976, p. 395).

13 For example, *Zo slovenskej pedagogiky* [tr. From Slovak *Pädagogik*] (1940), *Príručný pedagogický lexikón* [tr. Lexicon of *Pädagogik*] in two volumes (1943), *Úvod do všeobecnej pedagogiky* [tr. Introduction to General *Pädagogik*] (1944). He was an editor of the journal *Dieťa* [tr. Child] and *Pedagogický sborník* [tr. Pedagogical Proceedings] that was the leading educational journal in Slovakia.

14 Cf. Kudláčová: Charakteristika vybraných reprezentatívnych diel slovenskej pedagogiky v rokoch 1939–1945 z hľadiska spoločensko-politického kontextu, in Kudláčová (ed.): *Pedagogické myslenie a školstvo na Slovensku v rokoch 1939–1945*, 2015, pp. 42–59; Valkovičová: Štúdie Juraja Čečetku v časopise *Pedagogický sborník* v období druhej svetovej vojny, in Kudláčová (ed.): *Pedagogické myslenie a školstvo na Slovensku v rokoch 1939–1945*, 2015, pp. 60–72; Kudláčová, Valkovičová: Tvorba Juraja Čečetku a ideológia Slovenského štátu v rokoch 1939–1945, *Historia Scholastica*, 1 (2), 2015, pp. 38–51.

the content orientation of the journal. A question arises, whether it was due to his busyness or recognition of the political situation with all its consequences.

In the period of WWII, the contacts of Slovak *Pädagogik* with the world and with European educational thinking were interrupted. However, it was a problem of a stagnating scientific communication in the war-torn Europe in general. According to Krankus, a certain connection with the theory and practice of the pre-war educational reformism was evident in the conception of the active school that was largely debated on pages of educational journals during the war years (Krankus, 2016).

After the end of WWII, the first indications of a new orientation, now towards a Soviet *Pädagogik* and school system appeared. This meant a final parting with the developing *Pädagogik* of the interwar period, as well as with that of the Slovak state during 1939–1945. The communist era, which lasted in Czechoslovakia from 1948 to 1989, affected mainly the humanities and social sciences, on which the ideology of Marxism-Leninism was violently imprinted. *Pädagogik* was significantly influenced by Russian models of educational thought and practice; also, contact with scientists from non-communist countries was practically impossible.

After the termination of the Slovak State, based on the results of the so-called “verification of professors”, Čečetka could not perform activities that he was entitled to by his full professorship (until 1946). The reason was his weak objection to the ideology of the previous regime. After 1947 he continued in his intensive publication activity, published the work *Výber zo slovenských pedagógov* (tr. Selection of Slovak Pedagogues) and a two-volume university textbook *Pedagogika I.* and *II.* (1947 and 1948). Čečetka’s work from the 1940s represents the fundamentals of scientific *Pädagogik* in Slovakia and it is difficult to associate it with any clear or constructive path for educational thought and action. According to Wiesenganger (2014, p. 68), “he rather defines himself against individual authors and directions”, he formed his own views and opinions very carefully and did not finalise them into a synthesis.¹⁵ This “caution” could be related to the fact that Čečetka experienced all the political regimes of the 20th century in Slovakia: he studied in Hungary (Austro-Hungarian Monarchy), he profited himself in the period of the first Czechoslovak Republic, he was ready to take over

15 Cf. Wiesenganger: Filozoficko-výchovné východiská J. Čečetku v diele Úvod do všeobecnej pedagogiky, in Kudláčová (ed.): *Pedagogické myslenie a školstvo na Slovensku v medzivojnovom období*, 2014, pp. 60–69; Filozoficko-pedagogické východiská v tvorbe Juraja Čečetku do r. 1945, in Kudláčová (ed.): *Pedagogické myslenie, školstvo a vzdelávanie na Slovensku v rokoch 1918–1945*, 2016, pp. 117–137.

the responsibility of the reform of education and development of *Pädagogik* in the first Slovak Republic and he wanted to continue also in the period of communism. The most difficult period for him was the period of communism, which he did not identify with ideologically. In the 1950s, he dealt mainly with historical-educational writings, led the Department of *Pädagogik* and Psychology at the Faculty of Arts in CU. He was also a vice-dean for academic affairs.

In 1959, he was made redundant for the first time (at the age of 52) and was involuntarily moved to the Slovak Pedagogic Library. From 1964, he worked in the Research Institute of Education in Bratislava, which is related to his sociologically-oriented publications in the 1960s. In 1969, in the period of political release, he could return to the faculty of arts, which meant a certain satisfaction, however, in the period of normalisation¹⁶ he was made redundant again. His great diligence is proved by his bibliography; he published 556 titles, including 24 books (M. Miháľechová, 2007). Čečetka can be definitely considered a founding personality of modern Slovak *Pädagogik*. He established contacts with European and world educational thinking and he had an ambition to develop these contacts further. According to Wiesenganger, "Čečetka, examining educational as well as sociological and psychological theories into depth and expertly, had always striven to highlight their potential contribution to *Pädagogik*" (Wiesenganger, 2016, p. 135). He was linguistically and professionally well-equipped; unfortunately, both totalitarian regimes impacted his work and he had to terminate his academic career prematurely during the communist era.

Another figure who influenced the development of Slovak *Pädagogik* and education in the 20th century was Ondrej Pavlík (1916–1996). His ideological background, in comparison to Čečetka, was completely different and his successful establishment was assisted by political engagement. Pavlík came from a poor family, which, perhaps, marked his orientation to the left. He graduated from a teacher institute in Lučenec, he was a teacher at local schools in several villages and he later graduated in philosophy and biology at the Faculty of Natural Sciences and the Faculty of Arts, CU in Bratislava. Already in 1939, he joined the then illegal communist party and was engaged in the resistance movement. His further orientation was indicated by his dissertation thesis, entitled *Vývin sovietskeho školstva*

¹⁶ Normalisation is the period between 1969 and 1971, when the democratisation processes of Prague Spring were stopped, and a return to the repressive communist system in Czechoslovakia under the Moscow Protocol of August 1968 occurred.

a pedagogiky so zreteľom na školu povinnú [tr. Development of Soviet Education and *Pädagogik* with Regard to Compulsory Education], which he finished in 1942 (it could be published only in 1945) and by a monograph *Vysoké školy v Sovietskom zväze* [tr. Universities in the Soviet Union] (1947). Both texts are considered the first Slovak works on Marxist *Pädagogik* and became a source of theory of the first post-war Czechoslovak reform of education (Černák, 2016). After the end of the war, Pavlík found himself in the centre of high politics (already after the Slovak National Uprising in 1944 he was a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia; in 1945 he was a deputy commissioner of the Slovak National Council for education and edification and a member of parliament). He was considered the greatest expert on *Pädagogik* and education in the Communist Party of Slovakia. In 1948, he was appointed a full professor at the Faculty of Education, CU in Bratislava and he started to lecture on *Pädagogik*, based on Marxism–Leninism, Soviet *Pädagogik* and schooling being his model. However, he did not approach them completely uncritically.

The protagonists of a communist orientation, just like their predecessors in the period of the Slovak State, were aware of the importance of education and schooling for the dissemination of ideology among masses and shaping the future generations “in their image”. Pavlík was an initiator of a regulation of the Slovak National Council from 1944 on nationalisation of Slovak education, introducing a uniform education of the youth. According to Londáková (2007, 2016), the aim was an immediate and uncompromising elimination of the strongest ideological competitor – the Catholic church, compromised because of collaborating with the Slovak state during 1938–1945. This Regulation practically meant cessation of church and private education in Slovakia and an absolute control over education by the state in the sense of the single ideology of Marxism–Leninism. The Catholic Church, which was dominant in the period of the Slovak State, experienced gradual and systematic public space displacement. Leadership of educational policy got into the hands of the left-wing intelligentsia; Pavlík also led a committee for elaboration of a national act on education; the committee was established in 1946 in Prague. They produced two proposals of the reform of education (a Slovak proposal by Pavlík and a Czech proposal by Příhoda). Eventually, Pavlík’s proposal was adopted and it represented a basis for the new act on education after the communist coup in 1948. It introduced free education for all. However, it also meant the establishment of a state monopoly on education with the pro-Soviet orientation (Londáková, 2007). Science and education were thus cut off from the

development of science and education in Western Europe and the world. From 1948, Pavlík was a deputy minister of education and culture and the first chairman of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (henceforth SAS) and he began a stunning career. However, his outspoken criticism towards his own party led to his removal from the post of deputy minister in the period of Stalinist purges and after his criticism of Stalin's personality cult he was also dismissed from the post of the chairman of the SAS in 1954. In 1957, he was even expelled from the Communist Party of Slovakia, deprived of professorship and he could not publish or teach. Up to 1971 he worked in the Research Institute of Education in Bratislava. He was rehabilitated only in 1968 and from 1971 to 1989 he worked at the Faculty of Arts CU in Bratislava. His most notable educational work is a two-volume *Pedagogická encyklopédia Slovenska* [tr. Pedagogical Encyclopaedia of Slovakia] (1984, 1985), which, together with Čečetka's two-volume *Pedagogický lexikón* [tr. Lexicon of *Pädagogik*], represent ultimate publications of its kind in Slovakia.

Both Čečetka and Pavlík, although following different ideological orientations, decisively influenced Slovak *Pädagogik* in the 20th century. Their biographies and bibliographies (they have not been comprehensively processed yet) demonstrate the difficult political periods and turbulences that we experienced in Slovakia in the 20th century. It is challenging then to evaluate this period of the Slovak history in *Pädagogik* and education objectively. However, it is important to avail of the emergent evidence from archival research to continue to redress institutionalised biases in Slovak history. Not even the period of communism, which lasted for 40 years in Czechoslovakia, is homogeneous in its development. After the hard times in the 1950s, affected by Stalinism, a significant release took place, leading gradually to a reform of communism in the late 1960s known as the Prague Spring. This was, however, violently suppressed by the invasion of the Warsaw Pact armies in August 1968. The 1970s were marked by harsh normalisation, which was released only in the 1980s as a result of the new political situation in the Soviet Union – the onset of Gorbachev and the period of perestroika.

During the communist era in Czechoslovakia there was, however, a significant contribution to the field of teacher training. On 27th October 1945, E. Beneš, the president of the then Czechoslovak Republic, issued decree No. 32 on teacher training. Consequently, by the act No. 100 from 10th April 1946, faculties of education were established at all universities. The enthusiasm of establishment, and the early years of building of the faculties of education, was disturbed by violent Sovietisation after 1948 and political persecutions led to the departure of many teachers and students. In 1953,

faculties of education at universities were abolished and “higher schools of education” were established in their place, following the Soviet model. These were abolished in 1957 and in accordance with the then territorial division, 18 institutes of education were established. This meant a definitive loss of the university character of teacher training and an advance of regionalism in official policy. A change occurred only in 1962, when the institutes were excluded from regional administration and the ministry of education was entrusted with their management. In 1964, 12 faculties of education were re-established (8 in the Czech lands and 4 in Slovakia). However, the invasion of the Warsaw Pact armies in 1968 and the subsequent normalisation meant the end of hopes again and it brought new forms of politicisation. The renewal of the faculties of education occurred only after 1989. The example of the development of faculties of education illustrates tellingly the absolute influence of politics in the field of education in the Czechoslovak Republic during the communist era.

Strife for the character of *Pädagogik* after the socio-political changes in 1989

In 1989, important socio-political changes with a positive impact on the development of the Czech and Slovak nations took place in Czechoslovakia again; the accompanying phenomenon was a great enthusiasm, a feeling of freedom and openness to the world. The year 1993 is marked by a peaceful separation of Czechoslovakia to two independent states: the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. In 2004 Slovakia became a member state of the European Union.

After 1989 an “ideological dispute” of two worlds of thought occurred at departments of humanities and social sciences and this struggle for independent thinking takes place at many universities (as well as in society in general), even to the present day. The fact that *Pädagogik* was isolated from the development of educational research in other parts of the world during the communist era caused its slump, even deformation. On the other hand, great progress can be noted in the organisation of the system of education when compared to the interwar Czechoslovakia, and from my point of view, it was one of the best models ever. After 1989, the problem was how to de-ideologise a functioning and a good system of education. The problem is more difficult than it may seem at first glance, because the teachers’ community was an influential bearer of the ideology during communism; therefore, aspirants to teacher training were selected and

prepared carefully. After the revolution in 1989, teachers who graduated in the period of communism and were active members of the Communist Party met at workplaces with teachers who had studied in a free democratic regime. Even a greater problem occurred at academic departments of Slovak universities, where a specific situation originated: since competency of university professors and associate professors in individual fields takes a relatively long time, departments of education were led and staffed by the same scholars as in the communist years, since new scholars were not yet sufficiently qualified and were just beginning to profile themselves.

Many mistakes were made in enthusiasm after 1989 at faculties of art and faculties of education, where educational research is developed and teachers are trained. For example, lacking a critical review, many foreign conceptions of education were uncritically adopted; *Pädagogik* started to orientate to applied disciplines (e.g. family education, arts education, leisure time education), which marginalised basic research; basal educational disciplines were considered a kind of a relic just because they had previously existed in a deformed form. This led to an uprooted *Pädagogik* and it has presented a challenge for educational researchers searching for its new foundations and orientation. However, entering expert discussions with foreign colleagues, we have found out that we are not alone in this process of searching; they have reached the same state, even though, through a different way. It is very well documented also in a new Czech-Slovak film *Teacher* (2016); in the conclusion it is illustrated, through the character of a manipulative teacher from the communist period, that the same model of behaviour, yet in the bondage of another ideology, is possible even at present.

To build a workplace that is led by capable people in the field of *Pädagogik* with a clearly defined foundation and a defensible direction, is not easy. In Slovakia, we are still laden by the absence of a critical scholarship during the two successive totalitarian periods. This not only ideologised *Pädagogik* and education, but also provided mistaken interpretations of the former history of the field.

The field of *Pädagogik* has been influenced in new ways in more recent times by the European Union, with its own policies for the conduct of science and research. These policies include various artificially created criteria of quality, and other requirements promoting a unitary approach in education.

For instance, the Bologna Process, whose implementation in Slovakia was launched by the Act on Higher Education of 2002, intervened significantly in the organisation of university study. The EU model of a three-year

bachelor study, two-year master study and three-year doctoral study was implemented in Slovakia. Since the decree on teacher`s competence determines a master`s degree for a teacher, the division of the study into two stages is redundant and it complicates the smooth course of a study with a negative impact on its quality. Besides, bachelor study has no tradition in Slovakia.¹⁷

However, the origination of new study programmes in the field of applied educational sciences: social education, andragogy, out-of-school-time education, can be considered a positive development. Up to 1989, it was possible to study only teacher training of individual subjects (mainly in combination of two subjects) and a non-teaching programme *Pädagogik*. Considering the demographic development, establishment of a study programme gerontology will obviously occur in the near future.

Conclusion

Contemporary developments in educational policy in Europe and elsewhere have brought new challenges and tasks in the field of educational sciences in Slovakia. Traditional *Pädagogik* has found itself in difficulties, with respect to its definition and its development: *how to move forward?* On the one hand, *Pädagogik* in Slovakia is confronted by the turbulences and disfigurements in its own history. On the other hand, it is confronted by a large body of Anglophone educational research which seems to have no equivalent concept to *Pädagogik*. Meetings of these contrasting traditions, however, may have positive consequences. For instance, such encounters can stimulate mutual rethinking and promote the search for more adequate, more tolerant, and more promising conceptions of *Pädagogik* itself. Illuminations from our different educational pasts can play an important role in this search (Kudláčová, 2016b).

¹⁷ In Slovakia, up to 2002 the university study took 4 to 5 years, the graduate of which earned a "magister" (Master of Arts) degree in the field of humanities and socially oriented study programmes, and an "inžinier" (Master of Business Administration) degree in the field of science and technically oriented study programmes. Doctoral study did not represent the third degree of university studies but a scientific preparation, which lasted usually from 4 to 5 years.

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2.1.3 Development and Focus of Czech *Pädagogik* in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries¹

Tomáš Kasper and Dana Kasperová

Development of *Pädagogik* is closely tied to several key issues during the 19th and 20th centuries in the Czech Lands. First of all, these issues involve the formation of an educational-scientific discourse in the context of the more general development of science during the 19th century in the Czech Lands. Closely related to this is the question of the role of university centers in Cisleithania in educational research – especially in Prague and Vienna – and the links of such research with university systems in Germany and other countries.

Secondly, it is important to examine the standardization of *Pädagogik* within the overall socio-political situation in the Czech Lands in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. In particular, it is necessary to mention that the Czech national emancipatory efforts from German influence and control were so strong in the field of culture and science that they naturally did not avoid educational issues either (Kasper, Kasperová, 2015). Among other advances, Czech national efforts resulted in the openness of the Czech educational debate toward professional influences outside the German and Austrian regions, under which the educational climate had largely been shaped in the first half of the 19th century. Strong ethnic rivalry, mirrored also in the scientific debate in the second half of the 19th century, resulted in the formation of two "National" Schools of Education – a Czech one and a German one. The division of Charles-Ferdinand University (Prague) in 1882 into a parallel Czech part and a German part of the university was also the fruit of a national emancipatory movement in science. Czech pedagogical debate adopted influences from the Anglo-Saxon environment. In the last third of the 19th century, Herbartianism weakened under the influence of Positivism and in the first third of the 20th century, some specific transformations of principles in so-called experimental pedagogy were experienced too. Later, American progressivism and pragmatic pedagogy became the part of the Czech pedagogical debate. As will be pointed out, it would be inaccurate to

¹ The part of this study was supported of the Grants Agency of the Czech Republic (GAČR) as part of the project *The analysis of pedagogical concepts of school reform in inter-war Zlín in the context of a model industrial company town*, reg. no. 16-13933S.

understand the Czech educational debate as a part of a “continental” educational debate placed in opposition to Anglo-Saxon educational thinking. During the period in question (late 19th and early 20th centuries) a Czech professional community of educators, became, on the contrary, a significant example of openness to non-European, or Anglo-Saxon pedagogical influences.

The third central feature in the formation of *Pädagogik* was caused by the fact that scientific development of educational disciplines was closely linked with institutions, which were primarily educating future secondary school teachers. Requirements of “a school practice” were shaping, to a large extent, the orientation and character of the debate about future direction of *Pädagogik*. As it turns out, this was a matter that was crucial for the development of Czech education. Since the last third of the 19th century, not only had there been a new emphasis on developing theoretical pedagogical approaches; more particularly, there was an emphasis on applying such theory to tackling key problems in secondary education and also in schooling for the earlier years.

As a result, Czech pedagogical discussion became a lively and a constructive cooperation between the university elite i.e. academic experts and active representatives of a teaching community represented by many fellowships and professional educational institutions founded by teachers themselves. Regular contact between the scientific elite and the teaching community meant that particular attention was given to solving key professional pedagogical questions. Many of these, moreover, went beyond the limits of the immediate case and focused on enduring problems of education and educational practice. Such a connection was enriching mutually, ensuring that educational research was tightly strapped to solving socially important issues on the basis of a profound theoretical and pedagogical point of view.

This chapter focuses on the three key features mentioned above, particularly their contributions to a Czech model of *Pädagogik*. The chapter is organized chronologically and is mainly concentrated on the development of specialized pedagogical researches at the most important workplace – Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague. In this respect, it is an overview chapter, as the detailed analysis and reconstruction of the overall context would require much more space.

The chapter only raises issues concerning professional debates in the Czech educational research community. It does not analyze any German educational discussion closely. The Czech community defined itself against German bases quite often because the Czech Lands were under the pow-

erful and "bossy" Habsburg Monarchy. Czech pedagogical concepts were thus often formed in conscious contrast to prevailing German-Austrian educational foundations.

Development of a pedagogical research at Charles-Ferdinand University Prior to 1882

Not until 1850 was an independent Chair of *Pädagogik*² at Charles-Ferdinand University (Prague) established (Kasper, 2003, 375-381). A landmark achievement came after Thun's University Reform in 1849 (together with a reform of grammar schools of an A-level), which led to the independence of the university's philosophical faculty and its equality with other faculties. To be more precise, the Faculty of Philosophy became an independent research institution. The mission of the new institution was to advance philosophical research in its many aspects and to educate future secondary teachers and *Realschule* teachers (i.e. teachers for schools with an emphasis on practical arts) (Havránek, 1997, p.100).

Although education as a domain of study was acknowledged by the creation of a professorship of *Pädagogik*, its task was not identical with other professorial tasks at the faculty. The professorship of *Pädagogik* was not primarily intended to cultivate the field of *Pädagogik* as an academic discipline, but rather to provide training lectures for teacher candidates. Thus, the position of a professor of *Pädagogik* was quite different from other academic fields.

The first decent professor of *Pädagogik* in Prague was Jan Padlesák (1806–1873). He became professor in 1837. He had been lecturing in *Pädagogik* since 1837, as a professor of *Pädagogik* and religion.³ At Charles-Ferdinand University, lectures had to be given according to approved textbooks before the year 1849. After Thun's reform concerning freedom of learning/teaching, professors could freely interpret, explain, explore and develop their major. The approved textbook used till 1849 was written by

² Even after 1850, the Chair of *Pädagogik* was associated with philosophy, so professors gave lectures on these two disciplines. Before 1850, *Pädagogik* had been associated with philosophy, aesthetics, philology etc. A focus on pedagogical issues was coming to Prague University, with an emphasis on Enlightenment ideas and on efforts for the welfare of the nation, via well-managed education.

³ Education of religion was abolished after Thun's reform with the emphasis on freedom of education and scientific research.

V. E. Milde (1777–1853).⁴ Even after 1850, Jan Padlesák used Milde's work as an essential support for his lectures. This is proved by the fact that Padlesák did not create any lecturing textbook, or a special teaching treatise. J. Padlesák left the university in 1867.

His successor was Professor of Philosophy Joseph Dastich (1835–1870) from the summer term of 1868, but he unfortunately passed away in March 1870. Joseph Dastich was a supporter of Herbartianism (Tretera, 1989) and in this spirit he developed *Pädagogik* as a practical science, primarily dependent on ethics (Pešková 1991, pp. 7–8).

In 1872, Otto Willmann (1839–1920), professor of *Pädagogik* and philosophy, was sent from Vienna to Prague. In 1876, he was appointed as a full-time Professor of *Pädagogik*. In 1876, Otto Willmann founded a Pedagogical Seminar at the philosophical faculty. This seminar served both to promote scientific development in the field of *Pädagogik* as well as to improve the practical training of candidates for secondary school teaching (Willmann, 1901, p. 7). Willmann was a follower of Thomism and Scholastic realism (Willmann, 1894, 1896, 1897). His strong belief also influenced his research orientation. Until 1903, when retired in Prague, he was a supporter of Catholic education and Herbartianism. He was influencing the direction of a German educational research in Prague for almost thirty years. It was also demonstrated that Willmann was able to “protect” the field against the influence of Positivism, or even Darwinism (Kasper 2010, p. 235). Unlike the emergent Czech educational research, the German research of *Education* in the Czech Lands of Habsburg Monarchy remained under the influence of Herbartianism and Catholic doctrine till the very beginning of the 20th century. This German research was also “isolated” from the development of a lively educational debate at practitioner level; also from teaching efforts that were opposed to any strong influence of church authorities (Kasperová, 2016, p. 174). Due to Willmann's influence, German *Pädagogik* was also in a contrast to the developing of positivistic pedagogy at the Czech part of Charles-Ferdinand University (Cach, 1991, pp. 86–87). Willmann'

⁴ It was mainly about V. E. Milde's work *Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Erziehung im Auszuge*, issued in 1821 for the first time in Vienna. Work was coming out of the two-piece of the original *Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Erziehungskunde zum Gebrauch öffentlicher Vorlesungen*, published between 1811 and 1813. Shorter one-piece publication from 1821 was republished many times and became the key study and lecturing resource at universities in Habsburgian Monarchy. Vincenz Eduard Milde (1777–1853) worked for a short time as a professor of *Pädagogik* at Vienna University – between 1806 and 1810, when he resigned because of his poor health. Then he intensively devoted himself in managing of the Church. In 1823, became a bishop in Litomerice and then an archbishop in 1831, in Vienna.

philosophy was not familiar with the concept of evolution and Positivism in *Pädagogik*. Therefore, he could not conceive *Pädagogik* as an empirical science (Brezinka, 2003, p. 27). In Prague, during the years 1918–1938 there was considerable activity in German-inspired educational research. But this stood in aloof contrast in indigenious Czech educational research that was taking place at the same (Cach, 1996, pp. 32–34).

Developments in educational research at the Czech part of Charles-Ferdinand University after 1882

The year 1882 meant a fundamental divide for university life in the Czech Lands. The institutional division of Charles-Ferdinand University into a parallel Czech and German part not only marked a first recognition of a Czech identity. This division into a Czech and a German part was itself evidence of substantial progress in scholarly capacity in the Czech-speaking professional community. The first professor of philosophy and *Pädagogik* at the Czech part of Charles-Ferdinand University became Gustav Adolf Lindner (1828–1887). His personality had already been very well known not only in the Czech but also in German and Austrian educational community. Lindner started as an expert in the field of a *Pädagogik* (Cach, 1983), and as a recognized author of widely-used textbooks at teacher training institutes. He was also a well-known personality, whose observations on school and educational problems were highly respected in both Prague and Vienna. Lindner became a professor of education at an age when he was not fully healthy (he was 54 in 1882). He died a mere five years after his appointment.

Despite his short lecturing period, he had a dramatic impact on Czech pedagogical debate. He became an honoured authority to whom many experts appealed when they wanted to highlight developments and direction of Czech education. The professional research community and Czech teachers transformed Lindner into a certain kind of an icon, and he remained so into the early. Lindner's personality combined the ambitions of Czechs who looked for an open pedagogical debate, who searched for models outside of German and Austrian cultural influence and who aimed to significantly affect the actual practices of education in schools and colleges.

Lindner's mature educational thinking was captured (posthumously by his student, J. Klika) in a set of lectures which were published in 1888 called *Education on the Basis of the Theory concerning Physical, Cultural*

and Moral Evolution.⁵ The title of this work indicated that it was not a mere coincidence with the title of Herbert Spencer's *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical*⁶ published in 1861 (in Czech 1879). Lindner understood *Pädagogik* as something which had to be based on the principle of development, detecting patterns of education that were dependent on physical evolution. On the other hand, he also referred to the principle of freedom, where education was determined by social goals, respectively, by moral and cultural values. Lindner did not succumb to evolutionary determinism. He pointed to the variability of human development and to the free will of the individual as central educational principles. At this point, moral ideals became the main authority and law, determined by particular time and societal morals. In Lindner's opinion, moral behavior was beneficial for both individuals and the society.

Lindner's *Pädagogik* had to investigate, illuminate and research the development of education. For instance, pedagogical anthropology illuminated education based on a biological and physiological development of a human-being. Pedagogical teleology illuminated the importance of the purpose of education, consisting of the striving for moral character in the individual (Lindner, 1911, p. 67). This could be achieved, he maintained, if education itself was governed by laws of moral development. There should be created educational situations which would provoke an individual to act because only such action could lead to the development of a moral character. Lindner's interpretation of physical, cultural and moral development laid out the overall educational thinking for the next Czech generation of pedagogical debate. It did not seek any absolutely valid moral ideas but discussed possibilities concerning proper conduct fulfilling the moral character of an individual. Besides, it aimed to develop observation and experimentation in educational and pedagogical-psychological fields. The effort to objectively examine patterns of the physical development of individuals with a regard to their particular variability became a major program in Czech educational research from the end of 19th century and the first third of 20th century. This focus of enquiry was not only confined to a university „elite“ but also to a wider community of teachers, actively gath-

5 G. A. Lindner started his lectures on 12 November 1882 on the topic – Current state of Philosophy in the World with a special emphasis on Ch. Darwin and H. Spencer's thoughts regarding development of science and philosophy (Cach, 1982, p. 21).

6 Translations of H. Spencer were especially done by an important representative of teachers J. Úlehla, from 1877: *Education: intellectual, moral and physical and The Principles of Ethics* from 1895. Translation of the book *The Study of Sociology* – translation J. Pelcl from 1898.

ering in teachers' associations. It gave rise to many self-made experts and research-oriented institutions. Positivism had been considered as a possible direction, through which an „old school“ could be reformed, supplying enough arguments and evidence how to manage the „new education“ and „new school“. Educational theory and practical education should be based on a positivist approach, outputs of empirical research and quantitative measurement and experimental pedagogy, which primarily were called *pedopsychology* in the Czech environment.

Interest in a positivist point of view as well as a deeper understanding of the paradigm shift due to Charles Darwin (1809–1882) was shown by professor of aesthetics and *Pädagogik* Josef Durdík (1837–1902), Linder's successor, despite the fact that his work was also coming from Johann Friedrich Herbart's school of thoughts (1776–1841). Durdík drew inspiration of Herbart's system; especially his psychology of imagination. But he refused Herbart's metaphysics and in the spirit of Auguste Comte (1798–1857) sought his own classification of sciences (Kopáč 1968, 45–47). In addition, Durdík “was facing up” to Darwin's thoughts, especially in the treatise Kant and Darwin, written in the 70s of the 19th century, but published posthumously in 1906. Durdík's interest in the idea of evolutionism was also supported by his personal meeting with Darwin in 1876, during his visit of England. Durdík represents the most important representative of Czech aesthetics and professor of *Pädagogik*, whose work highlights the importance of natural sciences and *Pädagogik*, admires progress and Positivism and highlights its importance for the whole society (Stibrál, 2006, pp. 141–146).

Rádl points out that Durdík ignores and eliminates many aspects of Darwin's doctrine (Rádl, 1909, 2006). A similarly oriented view on education was held by Petr Durdík (1845–1909), brother of Joseph Durdík. He qualified in the area of secondary pedagogy in Prague, at the Czech part of Charles-Ferdinand University and as a private associate professor lectured *Pädagogik* (1887, 1888, 1893). After Peter Durdík, František Drtina (1861–1925) started to work as a professor of philosophy and education. Drtina was qualified in the field of philosophy and also qualified in the field of *Pädagogik*. In 1899, he obtained a professorship, and from 1918 also received important positions in the Ministry of Education. Drtina was not a thinker that would create fundamental educational works and steered Czech pedagogical thinking in a more definite direction. Drtina remained in the tradition of Positivism and settled Czech in the European context of the development, especially in his work Aims of Education (1900). Drtina was trying to enforce requirements of school community into reality. As

a member of the Imperial Council in Vienna in the years 1907–1911, he advocated educational and political requirements that had been professionally analyzed in their individual educational studies and led a professional discussion about them.

Drtina, together with Otakar Kádner (1870–1936)⁷ set the trends of pedagogical discussion. Kádner was the most important representative of Positivism and experimental pedagogy in the Czech pedagogical debate – especially in the prewar and interwar period. Main positivist oriented works were published in the interwar period, as you would be able to find out in the following section.

Experimental-based pedagogic and psychological approaches – called *pedopsychology* and *pedology* – were developed by František Čáda (1855–1918). He directed his research to the exact grasp of child development – his writings on this topic were the following: *Research Pupil* (1912) and *Debates on Psychology of a Child and Pupil* (1918). Čáda also stood at the birth of an institution focusing on the research of a child and also care for children with special needs. In 1910, there was founded the *Institute of Pedology* of the capital city Prague. In the twenties of the 20th century, it was led by another prominent personality of the Czech experimental and empirically oriented educational discourse – Cyril Stejskal (1890–1969).⁸

There was also a very important sociological school at the Czech part of Charles-Ferdinand University. Professor of philosophy and sociology, T.G. Masaryk (1850–1937) determined Czech science on the basis of Positivism. His influence on Czech socio-educational thinking and sociological problems of childhood and adolescence was very strong. A lot of works were created from this field over the years. An important representative of this current was, especially Břetislav Foustka (1862–1947). František Krejčí (1858–1934) similarly, developed ideas of Positivism in psy-

7 Otakar Kádner belongs to the most essential representatives of *Czech Pädagogik*. In 1906, he was habilitated in Prague with his treatise *Contribution to Experimental Pedagogy*. From 1907 became associate professor in the Pedagogical Seminar at Czech Charles-Ferdinand University and was leading it till F. Drtina left to Ministry of Education. In 1919 became a decent professor. In his research, he was strongly positivistic. He focused on experimental pedagogy, mainly general *Pädagogik*, history of education and education.

8 Cyril Stejskal studied in Prague, at Charles-Ferdinand University mainly under the influence of Czech doyen of experimental pedagogy and psychology František Čáda. His dissertation was titled *Experimental Research and Measurement of Childrens' Intelligence through Testing Method*. In 1921, he stayed in Hamburg by W. Stern, with whom he had a good relationship and translated his work into Czech. In 1925, he lived in Geneva at the Institute J.J. Rousseau and got to learn better psychologists like Jean Piaget and Edouard Claparéd. Stejskal habilitated in Prague in 1936, with his work *Child Brainpower*.

chology. In the fundamental Krejčí's publication *Positivism and Education* (1906), it is clear what impact positivist thinking had on formulating goals, the subject of pedagogy, but also on the practical educational discussions. Krejčí believed that educational reform efforts that had been realized in the early of 20th century led to spirited discussion, which had to be precisely based on the «new» philosophy – of Positivism.

Development of Educational Research at Charles University after 1918⁹

Formation of an independent Czechoslovakia in 1918 represented not only a major political, social and cultural divide, but also a significant milestone in the development of Czech educational research. A new democratic state, based on the Republican thoughts had been celebrated as the revolutionary outcome on the political as well as the national field. The first independent "state of Czechs and Slovaks" should have been the path to a democratic and socially equal status of all citizens – including the educational sphere. In the field of schooling, there was expected a rapid adoption of the new Educational Law, which would have guaranteed democratic access to education across all social classes. The USA became the model for this democratic governance of education. Initiatives were aimed at school reform and the education of teachers. The motto was the following: Concept of a unified school with internally differentiated system (individual approach) and democracy in education through the school community. Education should be individualized and adjusted, i.e. "tailored" to individual needs of every learner; school and school education should guarantee social cohesion of the society and development of social competencies.

After 1918, American education became the goal of many fact-finding visits of Czech educators and teachers (Kasper, 2015 b, 52–58). This goal was supported by the fact that at that time, in the USA, there lived the second and third generation of emigrants from the Czech Lands. These emigrants still had a great deal of active ties to the Czech population and committed to uphold the development of democracy in the newly established Czechoslovakia (Hájková, 2011; Jaklová, 2010; Eckertová, 2004). During these study tours, American schools were attended and also the professional educational American literature of the time was studied. Thus,

⁹ After 1918, Charles-Ferdinand University was transformed into two independent institutions - a Czech Charles University in Prague and German University in Prague.

Czech *Pädagogik* came under the strong influence of American empirical education and quantitative research from the twenties of the 20th century. Scientific research, measuring and quantifying became an important direction, which should support existing positivist focus of the Czech *Pädagogik* and its “shift” to become more scientific (Kasperová 2015b, 487–501). At the same time, Czech education research had also been inspired by American pragmatism and progressivism.

American educational debate and the state of American education were not blindly followed by Czech teachers. American education – theory and practice – had been studied but also critically accepted. Especially, the critical studies of Jan Uher (1891–1942) and Otokar Chlup (1875–1965) drew attention to positive as well as negative aspects of American perspective on education and teaching in the context of the Czech educational tradition. On the other hand, works of Václav Příhoda (1889–1979), associate professor of education at Charles University in Prague, were much more open toward American quantitative educational research. It was understandable due to his long stay at American universities in Chicago, where he especially was studying statistic method by Karl J. Holzinger. Příhoda also intensively studied E.L. Thorndike’s work and his studies translated into Czech.¹⁰ For Příhoda, this experience was even not contradictory to use Dewey’s pragmatism. He became an assistant at Teachers College to John Dewey in New York, where he was strongly influenced by progressivism and pragmatism. Příhoda was able to use American quantitative and statistic research methods as well as American pragmatism and progressivism in the “Czech way” of educational research and debate. After returning to Czechoslovakia, Příhoda advocated openness to American progressivism, ideas of rationalization (scientific management) in science and especially, in pedagogy. On that basis, he tried to win support from Czech teachers to his educational thinking during the twenties and the thirties of the 20th century. However, it must have been preceded by rethinking the very foundations of *Pädagogik* and educational research bases. Quantitatively oriented research, behaviorally and pragmatically approached pedagogy became the basis of Příhoda’s educational studies – mainly his work *Rationalization of Education* (1930), *The Practice of the Education Measurement* (1936) and *Ideology of a New Didactics* (1936).

¹⁰ Příhoda lived in the USA, in Chicago and New York, between 1922 and 1926 with a break in 1925. This year, he was habilitated at the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University in Prague. He did not only study with Dewey, and Thorndike, but also with F. N. Freemann, W. E. Blatz and Ch. H. Jude.

The dynamics of the Czech pedagogical debate had been characterised, as has already been pointed out, by the "clash" between philosophical and empirical focus of *Pädagogik* as a science. The first crucial contribution to the debate was a fundamental three-part work by Kádner – *Foundations of General Education* (1925, 1926), which had already crystallized. This work was based on Kádner's orientation and his openness to experimental educational research.

On the other hand, Kádner praised the role of philosophical background of *Pädagogik*, which should reflect the basis of empirical research and thus contribute to its further development. According to Kádner, status of *Pädagogik* is not at a higher level than empirical pedagogy, but it helps awareness of its own limits and allows shaping better its research subject (Kádner, 1925, 9–35). Kádner does not build any split between these two approaches and in the same way, he advocates a complementary relationship between educational theory and practice.

Besides Kádner's thinking, Otakar Chlup represents a significant direction of the Czechoslovak *Pädagogik*, especially in his crucial study, *Education*, (1933). Chlup's analysis of pedagogical trends and theories of the time were based on his detailed studies of predominantly French and Swiss empirical educational and pedagogical-psychological research. Chlup was as an editor of the *New School* magazine and also an active representative in the *New Education Fellowship*. His work, *Education*, put forward his views on educational reform. He was also a good connoisseur of German and American education. During the period between the two World Wars, Chlup was able to evaluate limits and possibilities of individual pedagogical approaches. However, he was not able to use all his knowledge to formulate his own school reform program. In this respect, he remained a staunch critic, sometimes harsh and merciless, of Přihoda's educational reform concept¹¹ as well as of Přihoda's total admiration for American empirism and progressivism. He considered this approach inadequate for Czech educational environment as well as too foreign for «national» school traditions. On the top of that, Chlup was markedly leftist teacher – a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. His overall views on society and political objectives were also incorporated in his pedagogical thinking. Chlup was searching for a syn-

11 Chlup founded his experimental school at Masaryk University in Brno within the framework of his Pedagogical Seminar, where he examined resources of his own views concerning education and school reform. Unable, however, to persuade the wider teaching community about his pedagogical aims, he rather became a critic of Přihoda's reform program than an author of an alternative pedagogical concept.

thesizing principle that should be followed by education and he strove for its achievement.

Some effort to bridge perspectives of *Pädagogik* as a normative science and empirical science was presented by the last Professor of Education at Charles University, Prague – Josef Hendrich (1888–1950). In his works, *Introduction to General Education* (1935) and *Philosophical Strands in Contemporary Pedagogy* (1926) he presents the concept of *Pädagogik* as a science requiring both attitudes and practices, which are empirical and inductive ones, experimental pedagogy, as well as addressing issues raised by philosophical and cultural education (Hendrich, 1935, 10–15).

If we look at the overall features of the interwar Czech research about *Pädagogik*, there we can notice one essential feature. Authors of the time no longer considered necessary to defend scientism of *Pädagogik* but asked more what kind of science *Pädagogik* really was (Kasper, 2012, 395). According to Kádner and Hendrich, we were witnessing attempts of a balanced view regarding the establishment of *Pädagogik* whereas in Chlup's opinion, there we would find a normative approach. Přihoda's concept of *Pädagogik* was understood as a natural science that was searching for an exact pedagogical knowledge via quantitative approaches, creating a basis for educational reforms and professionally managed educational practices (Kasper, 2014, 48).

Universities, however, did not become the only essential institutions that influenced and shaped debates about *Pädagogik*. Other institutes focusing on research also had a prime position and were partially funded by teachers themselves. Teachers wanted to also “ensure” that scientific findings would become the basis for a newly conceived teachers' education as well as for further teacher training. There was also the case concerning the Institute for Experimental pedagogy, founded just due to the initiative of one of the largest teachers' associations, aiming to reform interwar education. School reform should not have only been guided by subjective ideals of pedagogical reformers or socially critical ideas of educational reformers¹² but should have been based on the relevance of educational outcomes empirically conceived as a research on one hand, and on the basis of a thorough theoretical analysis regarding its objectives and viewpoints. Due to

12 Within the Czech educational debate, they did not acquire any socio-pessimistic form because school was understood as one of the most important means shaping a modern Czechoslovak democratic state as well as the Republican Establishment, which was comprehended as “revolutionary victory” after the year 1918. Czech teachers could not “waste time” with pessimistic ideas and images of societal development, but felt compelled to shape a modern democratic “new” school.

the interconnectedness of theoretical reflections with the tasks of teaching experience, Czech interwar research successfully overcame the danger of a certain "gap" between pedagogical academics and the wider teaching community. Teachers and academics extensively met in research and at the publication level, and especially on occasions of public forums and further education of the teaching staff. Openness of educational discussions and cooperation within the educational community were the marks of a mature Czech *Pädagogik* in the interwar period. Unfortunately, this trend could have only been enjoyed during the free development from 1918 to 1939. Political crisis in Czechoslovakia and in Europe, the outbreak of the Second World War led to radical changes in Czech research.

After the occupation of Czechoslovakia on 15 March 1939, there had been declared the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, and shortly after that the world could not resist the outbreak of the Second World War. Czech students wanted to commemorate 28 October 1938, the 20th anniversary of the birth of independent Czechoslovakia. This was a dangerous initiative, given that Protectorate was at this time occupied and controlled by Nazi Germany. Celebrations and demonstrations escalated in the protest against Nazi Germany and not only led to a bloody suppression of students, followed by their deportation into German concentration camps, but also caused the closing of Czech universities. By May 1945, Czech students could not finish their initiated studies in the Protectorate and Czech universities remained closed.

It was the first reminder of oppression and totalitarianism in the Czech Lands. Shortly after that, advanced pedagogical discussion was "cut off", even after the communist coup in February 1948. Here began to be written an unfree history of education under the severe rule of communist ideology and the Soviet Union.

Conclusion

This overview of the development of educational debate concerning the Definition of *Pädagogik* during the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century shows that scientific profile of *Pädagogik* is intensively opened to new trends. On one hand, it defines *Pädagogik* as the empirical, inductive and later exact science. This paper also shows that *Pädagogik* has become the science of collecting data for formulating theories, significantly based on quantitative research methods. On the other hand, we can see that this view on *Pädagogik* as a pure empirical science

did not predominate and was not the only determinant discourse of scientific educational profile. Besides this tendency, pedagogical discipline was defined by a necessary reflection of its relationship to philosophy, psychology and ethics, especially. Nevertheless, even in this educational theory, there were not searched theoretical educational basis absolutely valid, but it was supported by a deeper analysis of the objectives of education as a subject and its relationship to other social and biological determinants of educational processes. This made the pedagogical debate opened toward many foreign influences. Above all, however, we managed to grab basis of *Pädagogik* that had constantly been reflected and analyzed. This approach encouraged criticism in research and non-dogmatic formulating of educational theories. However, this valuable feature of an open science was lost after the year 1948, the year of radical political and societal changes. Finally, harsh political control defined the evolution of *Pädagogik* as a science in socialist Czechoslovakia.

If we follow the centenarian free development of Czech *Pädagogik*, we should not forget that within the very basic discussion about the profile of this science, there was pointed out the absolute necessity of symbiosis between theoretical educational reflection and “challenges” of teaching practice. This helped to link closely “scientific educational elite” and a wider, especially teachers’ community. As a result, educational theory as well as practice benefited from this state, and especially, educational research too.

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2.1.4 Disciplinary Changes in the Hungarian *Pädagogik* from the second half of the 19th century to the collapse of Stalinist-type dictatorship

András Németh and Imre Garai

Introduction

International educational research has recently taken a new interest in the world of education of former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe.¹ In the last two decades several German researchers focused on the development of educational science in the former GDR (Langewellpott, 1973; Cloer – Wernstedt, 1994; Krüger –Marotzki, 1994; Benner – Sladek, 1998; Gie'ler és Wiegmann, 1996; Cloer, 1998, Häder –Tenorth, 1997; Lost, 2000; Tenorth – Kudella – Paetz, 1996; Wiegmann, 2002). Hungarian researchers have recently started revealing the educational phenomena of the existing socialism² (Donáth, 2006; Golnhofer, 2004; 2006; 2006a; Szabolcs, 2006; 2006a; 2006b; Kéri, 2006; Nagy, 2006; Sáska, 2006; Pukánszky, 2004; Hopfner – Németh – Szabolcs, 2009; Németh – Biró, 2009; Németh – Biró – Garai 2015, Baska 2015, Németh, Garai – Szabó, 2016).

Our paper has two main chapters. The first part presents an overview about the development and peculiarities of *Pädagogik* in Hungary in the first half of the 20th century. It analyses these developments, drawing on archival sources and relevant research literature.

In the second part of our study, we investigate those political and social circumstances which transformed the Hungarian scientific-institutional system (universities and the Scientific Academy) during the period of the

1 This chapter is based on our previous article about the changes of higher education and *Pädagogik* in Hungary in the early period of the 1950s which is accessible in the special monothematic issue of *Pedagogika* (Németh and Garai, in press). Nevertheless, we tried to widen our perspective in this study and we summarized the development of *Pädagogik* in Hungary from the early period of the 20th century to the late 1950s. Furthermore, we also amended our text about the transformation processes of the 1950s in some points.

2 The expression of existing socialism is a reference to political and social systems that emerged in Europe and Asia in the Soviet influential zone after the Second World War. These societies and political systems constituted the people's republic, which was an expression for Soviet-type countries. The operation of these systems were determined by the rule of one party (the communist party), planned social and economic processes and state authorized redistribution of produced goods.

Rákosi³ dictatorship. The two main chapters are comprised by several subchapters focusing on social and political peculiarities of the examined time period and changes of disciplines according to categories described by Stichweh. In this part, we will examine those factors which profoundly transformed the whole structure of universities and academic sciences and the discipline of *Pädagogik* as a part of this structure in Hungary in the area of the Rákosi-dictatorship (1949–1953).⁴

Our approach is based on a newly emerging theme which examines a Soviet-type development of science in post-Soviet countries. Researchers recently began to show interest in the educational phenomenon of *existing Socialism*. We also intend to examine the educational peculiarities of the communist dictatorship in Hungary.

The discipline of *Pädagogik*, and its structure as a part of the institutionalized system is also part of our analysis.

Our theoretical approach is influenced by Stichweh’s “scientific discipline” notion. This notion is widely used in historical researches of science that have a sociology of knowledge orientation. It is also used in systematic researches on theory of science (Becker, 1989; Stichweh, 1994). Scientific works, and scholars themselves, are an essential part of science according to Stichweh’s discipline notion (autonomous scientific field). The identification of disciplines in this sense has four components: a) an institutional infrastructure as a background to the research, b) a scientific communication network, c) the cognitive products of the discipline, d) support of young scientists’ socialization, “the socialisation of young scientists into the prevailing values held by the discipline’s scholars”.

Peculiarities of discipline of *Pädagogik* in Hungary in the first half of the 20th century

Recent historical researches that analyse historic developments in educational research identify three main phases in such developments in Europe in the modern period. In the first phase – which began in different

3 Mátyás Rákosi was the general secretary of the Hungarian Workers Party (name of the Hungarian Communist Party, HWP) between 1945 and 1953 and the prime minister between 1952 and 1953. He was the ultimate political leader in this time period.

4 This chapter, which was financed by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund, summarizes the main conclusions of two papers of the final report of the research. In these papers we examined the changes of Hungarian higher education and the transformation of educational disciplines (Garai, 2016b; Németh, 2016).

parts of Europe in different decades of the 19th century – *Pädagogik* had not become a university discipline yet. The gradual institutionalisation of *Pädagogik* played a significant role in the training of teachers in the final third of the 19th century (Németh, 2007). On the one hand, systematic advances in theory and practice were envisaged as strongly connected and explain each other. The most typical form of this process is the Herbartianism. On the other hand, the process of university institutionalization of *Pädagogik* had just begun in this period. Pedagogical seminars (departments) which were established in this time period had a strong relationship with philosophy. This connection provided *Pädagogik* with opportunities to evolve into a university discipline because philosophy had long before achieved this status.

The second phase of the development of *Pädagogik* began (in Central Europe) around 1880 and lasted until the end of the first decade in the 20th century. A pedagogical world movement evolved in this period based largely on an empirical research paradigm. This is especially true for psychology that became even significant among social sciences. This paradigm was very popular among elementary teachers, they wanted to implement reforms in teacher training. Different directions of this movement (reform pedagogy, experimental pedagogy, paedology) were not fully accepted at universities yet, but became so in the final decades of the century. As a result of this process the emancipation of reform pedagogy and empirical pedagogy would be acknowledged (this act resulted in lifting up these disciplines into the circle of university disciplines) (Hofstetter and Schneuwly, 2002, Németh, 2004).

The history of Hungarian *Pädagogik* can be interpreted as history of reception. The evolution of Hungarian educational sciences was shaped by implementing foreign (German) intellectual trends. Furthermore, the standing of Hungarian research came to be judged by how well and how quickly it had adopted Western patterns. The development of *Pädagogik* and educational research in Hungarian universities took place through three consecutive reforms. Implementing Humboldt-type university reforms in 1849 was an important element in the history of development of Hungarian universities. As a result of the so-called Organisationsentwurf,⁵ 8-grade type secondary schools were established and final examination was also set up, which closed secondary studies. Students who successfully

⁵ It is the 'Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Österreich' which implemented these important transformation of education in both part of the Habsburg Empire.

completed the final examination were eligible to enrol for reformed philosophy faculty. In 1850, philosophy faculty became independent and equal with other traditional faculties and its main aim was to train secondary teachers.

The first reform phase lasted from the Compromise⁶ of 1867 to the end of the 19th century. It was influenced by Herbartianism on the one hand and by nationalist forms of liberalism on the other. The second phase lasted from the turn of the century to the end of the First World War. This was the phase of expansion of reform pedagogy and experimental pedagogy. Obviously, this expansion had a strong connection with urbanisation and the emergence of radical political movements. The third phase lasted from the 1920s to the middle of 1930s. In this time period, the 19th century begun process ended and a result of it the Hungarian science of education became a university discipline. Moreover, its representatives helped the government to implement new educational policy solutions in the 1920s for resolving the challenges resulting from Treaty of Trianon⁷ (Németh, 2002, 2005).

The development of university disciplines has a strong relationship with European modernisation trends and especially with the process of professionalization of these disciplines themselves. According to Hungarian researchers (Gyáni and Kövér, 2006), 'intellectuals' who owe university or academy degree and they did not have administrative works as clerks but other intellectual jobs. The main treat of the Hungarian intellectuals was that they were mostly in employee status. This was especially dominant among pedagogues and clerical intellectuals (Gyáni and Kövér, 2006, pp. 277–289.).

6 By accepting the Compromise, two-decade long completion between Hungarian political elite and the Habsburg-dynasty had been ended after the revolution of 1848/1849. The 12th act of Parliament in 1867 created political and economic stability for the rest of the 'long 19th century' which provided both parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with an excellent opportunity of economic and social development (Romsics, 2004, pp. 17–20.)

7 The peace treaty of Trianon, signed on 4th June 1920, had disastrous consequences on the Hungarian part of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which had 18,2 million in population and an area of 282.000 square kilometres without Croatia. As a result of the treaty, Hungary's population and territory decreased to 7,6 million and 93.000 square kilometres (Romsics, 2004, p. 147.). Understandably, the prescriptions of the treaty resulted in a serious political and social crisis, which of course had effect on the sphere of education.

The evolving of Hungarian *Pädagogik* into a modern scientific discipline

In the gravity of the upper mentioned development tendencies evolves the *Pädagogik* into independent university discipline which process can be observed at all faculties of arts across Central-European universities (Tenorth and Horn, 2001; Horn, 2003). By following this development scheme, Hungarian university discipline of *Pädagogik* also took an important step in the direction of evolving into a modern scientific discipline from the 1920s to the middle of 1930s. According to Stichweh, we summarise the main trends of these development in the upcoming parts of this chapter.

Institutional changes: infrastructure and background supports

By the time when the popularity of the approach of *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* increased, the discipline's development into a science which was acknowledged by the Hungarian Scientific Academy had been done. Its institutional opportunities and boundaries are also clarified. In the early period of the 1920s, one could find departments of *Pädagogik* under the direction of full professors at all the four Hungarian universities. These professors expanded their teaching activities and their research topics. Mostly, they tried to cooperate with professors of philosophy of the faculties of arts. As evidence of their recognition they were elected as full members of the Scientific Academy and they had wide international connection networks.

One peculiarity of the university faculties of arts was that members of the catholic clergy (Gyula Kornis or Cecil Bognár) as well as protestant theologians could be found among them. Moreover, the contemporary assessment process which determined the selection of intellectuals by using Western-type meritocratic viewpoints was not the only way getting into the intellectual elite. A university intellectual elite occupied leading positions in scientific organisations and they had influential positions in their professions as well. An additional requirement has to be highlighted in connection with being member of these elite groups. Those intellectuals who were candidates for university positions had to be committed to Christian values and this influenced the tenor of the research undertaken in departments of *Pädagogik* in Hungarian universities. Acceptance of these values was expected of all state officials in the examined time period. Their social rank was 'gentleman' and they had to follow those consensual ethical rules which were fit their social status (Gyáni and Kövér, 2006, pp. 239–242.).

The number of private university teachers (Privatdozent) in *Pädagogik*

grew significantly, as did their publications. Furthermore, the topics of their lectures became more diversified. Until the middle of the 1930s, 14 scholars were awarded private docents. Moreover, courses in *Pädagogik* and philosophy were available not only in the capital but at rural faculties as well. All of the rural universities had the capability to offer pedagogy courses for their students. Furthermore, studying pedagogy courses was also possible in teacher training institutes at this time. These institutes became widespread after the 27th Act of the Parliament in 1924. By establishing teacher training institutes, the legislation wanted to make teacher training more systematic (Garai, 2016a, pp. 184–187.). Attendance at theoretical and methodological pedagogy courses was obligatory for all students who wanted to get secondary teacher diploma. Pedagogical institutes were also established at universities. These facilities had their own library and laboratory. In 1933, reforms made obligatory for all teacher candidates attendance at pedagogy courses for at least 20 hours per week.

Changes of scientific communication networks

Independent scientific societies and journals emerged in the second half of the 19th century and their numbers continued to grow until 1946. University full professors and associate professors played significant role in establishing and managing these associations.⁸ There was a major rise in the professional standards achieved by the journals. Publications in the field of *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* reached standards that matched those of the best European work in the field. The number of these type of publications had rapidly grown between the early 1920s and the middle of the 1930s. Hundreds of articles in *Pädagogik* – theoretical, philosophical, anthropological or psychological in character were published by Hungarian university academics. Their international connections were mainly with German scholars.

8 1891: Hungarian Pedagogical Society (Magyar Pedagógiai Társaság), 1892: foundation of journal Hungarian *Pädagogik* (Magyar Paedagogia) 1906: foundation of Hungarian Children Inquiry Society (Magyar Gyermektanulmányi Társaság,) 1906: foundation of National Pedagogical Library (Országos Pedagógiai Könyvtár,) 1907: first issue of the journal of The Child (A gyermek). Emergence of further journals: 1908: The Hungarian Secondary School (Magyar Középiskola), 1909: Hungarian Special *Pädagogik* (Magyar Gyógypedagógia), 1926: On the paths of the future (A jövő útjain), 1927: Protestant Educational Journal (Protestáns Tanügyi Szemle).

Cognitive products of scientific discipline and the process of their development

This newly emerged theoretical paradigm of *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* became dominant at the university of Budapest. In spite of the fact that a neo-Kantian educational approach prevailed in rural universities in the 1920s, the reception *Pädagogik* became even stronger in these institutes. A change of attitude towards spiritual *Pädagogik* can be observed in the transformation of curriculums and themes of public lectures at all Hunarian universities. Further example of this change is the editorial board of the Hungarian Lexicon of *Pädagogik* (Magyar Pedagógiai Lexikon) which consisted of professors of the Pázmány Péter University of Budapest (Ernő Fináczy, Gyula Kornis) and German supporters of this approach (Spranger and his colleagues). As a result of the rise of *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* empirical research methods were marginalized. However, Ödön Weszely's scientific work proved the survival of experimental pedagogy at the University of Pécs.

Scientific recruitment and professional socialization processes

The number of scholars who gained PhDs in *Pädagogik* also increased in the interwar time period. As a result, many scholars were recruited from those students who received their doctoral title in this field. Their numbers fairly increased and later they can continue their professional career as associated professors or later full professors (Lajos, Prohászka, Béla Tette-manti, Erzsébet Baranyai) (Németh, 2002, pp. 372–375).

As Romsics (2004) pointed out Hungarian politics could be described as a limited parliamentary political system which had authoritative elements between 1919 and 1944. During this time period, the authority of the governor (Miklós Horthy) was extended at the expense of the Parliament. This endeavour was met with the intention that voting right limited to individuals who belonged to the middle class. Safety checks like an open (i.e. non-private) voting system till 1938, and other factors such as excessive influence of the government, restriction of freedom of press and racial, confessional discrimination made impossible the formation of a truly democratic competition between parliamentary parties. Interesting peculiarity of the Hungarian political and social system is its transitional character which is often described in the international literature as 'authoritarian'.

Consequently, institutions of restricted Parliamentary political system functioned till 1945. There had been organizations which advocated

the interest of economic and industrial elites. However, their influence and possibilities to reach their political aims were limited. Operation of press, publishing books, arts, public and higher education systems' functioning had been permitted, nevertheless their operation were influenced by Nationalist-Christian ideology and their autonomy were also limited. The influence of confessions was also remarkably high in the sphere of elementary school system and among 8-grade secondary schools which had elite training function.

Nationalization of higher education, peculiarities of the communist disciplines of *Pädagogik*

As a result of political and economic transformation between 1945 and 1948, a new era began in the history of Hungarian higher education that prepared the profound changes in this sphere in the 1950s. The communist perception of science that denied the principles of Western-type scientific norms paradigmatically transformed the institutions and infrastructures of the Scientific Academy and universities. It got the socialization scheme of the scientists, communication structures and the meaning of scientific work altered.

These changes together created the communist-socialist discipline model that was profoundly different from specialities of the Western-type perception of science. This model neglected meritocratic standards and its indoctrination functions and quasi-religious attitude almost precluded the traditional forms of creating scholarly research. Disciplines' social acceptance and their recruitment processes also changed significantly.

The quality and tenor of research in *Pädagogik* changed significantly after the end of the Second World War in 1945. Its function was determined by the basic dichotomy of the communist ideology which divided the world into two different parts. According to this quasi-theology oriented rhetoric, the faith of the world is determined by the combat of heavenly and evil forces. The communist party, who represents the good side in this combat, made the scientific disciplines serve the purpose of peace of humankind and it founded new scientific institutions, which made economical process more predictable and purposeful. Representatives of the other, evil side are aggressors and profit-hunter capitalists who wanted to deter the science from further development. The basic character of the Stalinist-type dictatorship's rhetoric was provided by an epic cultural indoctrination which overwrote the abstraction and cognitive approach.

Between 1946 and 1949, traditional forms of university disciplines had been diminishing, thus *Pädagogik* at Hungarian universities had also been transformed. A Nationalization of higher education had begun in the first half of 1949 by announcing the 260/1949. ministerial decree (12th January). After the announcement of this decree, reforms of universities and the Scientific Academy were declared in the sessions of Secretary of Hungarian Workers' Party (HWP) every half year.

The Party only let the public know that there were some important reforms in the sphere of higher education. Communist politicians highlighted that more students were allowed to attend academies and universities than before,⁹ and the financial support of this sphere also increased in a way that had never been expected.¹⁰ Where higher education policy was concerned, the Communist Party restructured the entire field because the governing role of the former Ministry of Religion and Public Education profoundly changed. In parallel with its criticism of each department of the Ministry, the Party separated a few areas from it and they set up new institutes to control these separated fields (Kalmár, 2014, p. 58).¹¹ Similarly, the Department of Universities and Academies within the Ministry was substantially transformed. Previously the powers of this department included all aspects and all institutions related to higher education in Hungary. But after the changes these powers limited to control of 'old universities' (previously existed institutions). Newly founded institutions' supervision, which emerged after 1945 belonged to other ministries.

A further transformation of the world of research was accomplished by the 27th Act of Parliament in 1949, which resulted in the integration of the Hungarian Scientific Committee and the Hungarian Scientific Academy. Effectively, the Scientific Academy was now to be populated by communist researchers. These were carefully selected and screened. This process revealed to the communist authorities that there were only a few scholars who were really committed to their political aims. Therefore, they accepted the natural political behaviour of all scholars but the scientists of human and social disciplines. They thought that politically neutral scholars of natural sciences could cause less harm than their fellows from the humanities.¹²

9 Session of Central Committee of HWP on 27th November 1948. Hungarian National Archive (HNA) fond 276. bunch 52. unit 4. pp. 41–42.

10 Session of Central Committee of HWP on 2nd April 1949. HNL f. 276. b. 52. u. 6. pp. 33–35.
11 2267/1949. Proposing bill about the transformation of the government of Hungarian Republic. HNA f. 276. b. 54. u. 48. pp. 17–18.

12 Alexits, György: Proposal about the members and structure of the Hungarian Scientific Academy. Budapest, 18th October 1949. HNA f. 276. b. 54. u. 67. p. 29.

Transformation of the scientific field's boundaries had not been over at the end of 1949 because the HWP made the Scientific Academy responsible for recruitment of young scholar generations by setting up the Committee of Training Scientists (CTS). By implementing the aspirant training with the announcement of the 44th decree in 1950 (26th September), controlling of the influx of young scholars became the task of the Academy. This can be perceived as supervision of the Bourdieu implemented 'entrance fee' notion. It means that the necessary political and scientific knowledge which was the prerequisite of becoming a doctoral student was controlled by the Academy. Thus the Scientific Academy became the most important institute of supervising and steering higher research in all of the country's research institutions.¹³ Scientific community besides the Academy was transformed by the 26th decree in 1951 (11th November). Where individual researchers were concerned a newly established Committee of Scientific Ranking¹⁴ kept a vigilant eye on conformity to Party principles in the conduct of research activity. The Committee promoted to Doctor of Science, or other such advanced standing, only those candidates whose orthodoxy was assured.

All in all, 340 submissions of applications were submitted to the CSR to decide about awarding higher scientific ranks for candidates in 1952. Only 81 scientists had memberships in the communist party.¹⁵ The party wanted to have direct influence just over certain scientific fields. In case of scholars of technical and natural sciences, they tried to persuade them or at least prove their natural political behaviour with the donation of scholarships and promoting leading figures of these scientific fields to high administrative positions. Excessive donation of these sciences can be perceived by examining the number of Soviet scholarships of these scientists¹⁶ and the appointment of institute directors in case of establishing new universities from technical faculties.¹⁷ Furthermore, the asymmetric relationship between natural sciences and human sciences can be explained by their different role in fulfilling the aims of the first 5 years plan between 1950–

13 Proposal about implementing the aspirant training. Budapest, 17th August 1950. HNA f. 276. b. 54. u. 114. pp. 8–10.

14 Horváth, Márton: Proposal about appointing president, secretaries and members of the CSR. Budapest, 19th November 1951. HNA f. 276. b. 54. u. 169. p. 69.

15 Hungarian Scientific Academy: Report on promoting scholars to higher scientific ranks. 1st group of university teachers. Budapest, 4th July 1952. HNA f. 276. b. 54. u. 201. p. 44.

16 HWP Central Directorate Agitation and Propaganda Committee's proposal about distribution of scientific scholarships. Budapest, 11st January 1949. HNA f. 276. b. 54. u. 26. p. 4.

17 Friss, István: Proposal for the Secretary about decentralisation and specialization of technical universities. Budapest, 2nd June 1951. HNA f. 276. b. 54. u. 147. pp. 18–23.

1954¹⁸ and the emergence of challenges in the Soviet influence sphere in Europe which were results of the scientific-technical revolution (Kalmár, 2014, p. 73).

Contours of the conception of the Higher Education Committee became sharp by the second half of 1950. The party wanted to make the Committee a central authority of the higher education system near or instead of the Department of Universities and Academies of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education. Prominent politicians thought that the ministerial department could not cope with the operative governing task of the whole higher education system on their own. The Higher Education Committee was an upper board and it was comprised by those ministers who were given newly founded higher education institutions after 1945. Its main aim was to coordinate the difficult governmental measures of the ministerial department with further advice but it could have replaced the department in the long term.

According to the inner logic of the party, they just had to find the proper scholars for leading positions to gain total control over the whole of higher education because they had already transformed the structure of the university system and set up new governing authorities. Drawbacks of these methods clearly arose when the party wanted to appoint vice-rectors and vice-deans. The HWP treated the nationalization¹⁹ of Hungarian higher education as a kind of governing question. They wanted to create total authorization by establishing narrow-profile universities for certain disciplines and pick politically loyal scholars to be leaders of scientific institutes. However, the socialisation of the new generation of scholars really went slow in each discipline. Many scholars who were appointed as directors of institutions or faculties turned out to be disloyal or hostile towards the general policy of the party, or they could not support the changes in higher education.²⁰ Consequently, the Secretary had to remove the idea of picking politically loyal people and was forced to conclude that sufficient numbers of compliant scholars for appointment to leading positions

18 The first 5 years plan main aim was to transform the Hungarian economy from an agricultural basis into an industrial one. Therefore, scientists with nature specialization were expected to play an important role in fulfilling the main aims of the plan.

19 We use the nationalization notion in the terms of extending government control over colleges and universities to make them centres for extending communist influence among the younger generation of scholars and intellectuals.

20 "He made snide remarks about the people's democracy. He is not developed enough in ideological aspect, he had clerical sentiments." Cader description of Dr József Varó. Budapest, 9th March 1951. HNA f. 276. b. 54. u. 134. p. 80.

couldn't be found. From its agenda by concluding that the party could not find enough for occupying leading positions.²¹ They put off this question at the session of 5th April 1951. The realization that the goal of total control over the higher education sphere could not be fully achieved urged policy makers to change their methods.

So the politicians were forced to resort to new strategies to advance Party control over higher education and research. Accordingly, they focused on further aspects of higher education. By transforming the examination structure and eliminating the remaining elements of bourgeois *Pädagogik* the party sought to change the governing system. The concept of setting up the Soviet-pattern-following independent Higher Education Ministry came from the idea that such a new institute like an independent Ministry dedicated to affairs of higher education policy²² should have synchronized the Academy's theoretical scientific governing role with universities' tasks of conducting researches and training young scholars by tight control of the new ministry. *Pädagogik* would have played an important role in the newly emerged structure of higher education governing system through methodological issues. The Party thought that methodical instructions could have intruded in core elements of each discipline. That would have resulted in transformation of content of disciplines according to the current agenda of the Party.²³

In fact, setting up the independent Higher Education Ministry in 1952 served not just as a tool for improving governmental authority over universities. It provided the government with an opportunity to manage and influence directly the teaching methods of universities and research projects in the case of all sciences. It was also expected as the final step of transforming the whole scientific field because in former phases of the nationalization process, the party had already regulated and authorized the 'entrance fee', function of scientific societies had been restructured and influence of methods of certain scientific fields had also been exercised since previous stages of the process.²⁴

21 Record about proposals of vice rectors and vice deans. Budapest, 9th March 1951. HNA f. 276. b. 54. u. 134. p. 89.

22 Essentially, the communist party created an independent Ministry from the former Department of Universities and Academies of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education.

23 Horváth, Márton: Current situation of our higher education system and its governing system. Budapest, 21st April 1952. HNA. f. 276. b. 54. u. 190. pp. 14–19.

24 Horváth, Márton: Record about Current situation of our higher education system and its governing system. Budapest, 21st April 1952. HNA. f. 276. b. 54. u. 190. p. 3.

By the time of 1952, a very few elements of the structure of the universities remained Humboldt-type university model that had been formed by following the neo-humanist scientific philosophy in Central-Eastern Europe in the second half of the 19th century. The structure of Hungarian higher education began to resemble the Soviet and French pattern of universities by creating narrow-profile universities. The French system of higher education mainly comprised special lyceums and academies (*grandes écoles*) which were supervised by an administrative organization (Imperial University) in the 19th century. These patterns had some common features with the Russian and later Soviet higher education system (Tóth, 2001, pp. 99–101). In 1952, the political elite began to realize these changes and therefore, they considered changing the name of universities and academies. Paradoxically, newly founded narrow profile Hungarian universities tended to be the most vehement opponents of this idea by referring to traditions.²⁵ Thus, the party had to call off this idea and the politicians finished the transformation of higher education by separating teacher training from vocational training at universities. After the death of Stalin, political changes in Central-Eastern European countries, including Hungary, made it impossible to implement this idea which was realized only in the second half of the 1950s.

By restricting the autonomy of elite of scholars at universities and in the Scientific Academy, characteristic features of the Soviet-type university model became even more dominant. The institutionalized form of this phenomenon is the nomenclature system. Members of the nomenclature are those individuals who were appointed to be officials by different levels of the party. The socialist-communist scholar elite became an ideology-producing elite instead of examining natural and social phenomena by using traditional and strictly controlled scientific methods. Their most important task was to serve the interest of the expanding political field.

Transformation of characteristics of discipline of *Pädagogik*

Political and social changes profoundly transformed the nature of discipline of *Pädagogik*. The main results of these changes will be summarized in the upcoming subchapters.

25 2180/52.VIII.19. Horváth, Márton: Proposal about the names of academies and universities. Budapest, 19th August 1952. HNA f. 276. b. 54. u. 207. pp. 170–171.

Infrastructure and background of transformation of *Pädagogik*

With the new ideological slogan of *democratic universities*, reforms had been implemented in the higher education. These reforms eliminated the autonomy of lecturers and students and restricted the institutional frameworks of liberal arts by introducing prescriptive curriculums in each discipline. As we have seen in the previous chapters, the reforms implemented in 1949 transformed the traditional governing structures of universities. Traditional forms of students' administrative registers were quaeitures at universities. These administrative staffs had been replaced by registrar departments, which later became executing boards for introducing the will of the Party. These registrar departments preserved the quaeitures' traditional tasks (registration of students, handling of indexes) but they were also responsible for providing students with necessary fiscal and material elements in order to authorise and upgrade their political knowledge. Last remnants of autonomy of universities were eliminated by a degree of the government in 1950, which restricted the rights of council of universities and made them an advisory body. These councils were the traditional self-governing staffs of universities that controlled the promotion of university teachers and budget of the whole university. From that time period, all important decisions were determined by decrees of Central Committee of HWP. Ministries with interest in higher education were responsible for executing these prescriptive political declarations.

In 1950, Pedagogical Permanent Committee (PPC) was set up at the Hungarian Scientific Academy and functioned until 1956. The PPC's main aim was to replace old *Pädagogik* departments at universities. Thus it became an important element of directing Hungarian pedagogical discipline and educational policy in the 1950s. Besides the PPC's operation the Pedagogical Scientific Institution was also an important factor in the scientific field of pedagogy. The 1954 founded institution was comprised of theory of education, history of education, psychological, social sciences and natural sciences departments. Research groups with the interest of school teachers in lower and upper grades of elementary schools were also part of this institution which operation was ceased in 1962.

Changes of scientific communication networks of *Pädagogik*

By the end of 1950, independent professional groups and publication forums had been eliminated or nationalized. Former scientific publications (monographies, handbooks and other kind of publications) were replaced

by standard pedagogical and psychological works of Soviet authors. PPC controlled these new kind of centralized professional communication forums. By authorising all the professional communication tools, PPC also played significant role in upholding professional relationship with scientific academies of other socialist countries. It had to release the recent pedagogical publications of socialist scholars and also organized professional forums for expounding on current questions of pedagogy and psychology.

After former university textbooks had been banned, PPC was empowered to compile new materials for university students. As a matter of the fact that there were lack of ideologically proper university books, PPC had to translate and publish works of Soviet scholars. In fact, this meant the propagation of the latest results of Soviet pedagogy and psychology. It served as a kind of regulation for Hungarian scholars to follow the topics and methodologies of the more *advanced Soviet scientists*. In 1950, the *Socialist Education Library* was founded and dedicated to release new scientific works with the required political approach for scholars of pedagogy. 133 books were published within this series, from which more than half of the published volumes had Soviet authors. *Materials for teachers of pedagogy* was also a series between 1954 and 1957, in which 27 books were published including the volumes of four Soviet scholars. College of Special Needs Education also released 14 Soviet special pedagogical volumes between 1950 and 1951.

Cognitive products of scientific discipline

By the time of ceasing the autonomy of scientific research, scientific excellence based meritocracy were replaced by ideological principals in *Pädagogik*. Ideological approach served as a quasi-religious description for all aspects of political and social spheres including scientific researches. Totalitarian political structure defined the function and operation of scientific disciplines. Consequently, the political sphere intruded in the inner operation of scientific disciplines and prescribed its aims and methods according to its current ideology. If we examine the cognitive products of *Pädagogik* in the 1950s, we can conclude that Hungarian *Pädagogik* had lost its characteristic features based on Western-type scientific approach. It began to adhere to the principles of Soviet pedagogy.

Soviet pedagogy was the model of the *reformed* Hungarian *Pädagogik* which had lost its connections to Western empirical pedagogy after the paedology had been banned in the Soviet Union in 1936. It became an atheist theology, which transformed the doctrines of Stalin's principles as a spe-

cial form of Marxism-Leninism and it created pedagogical theorems that adhered to these principles. Scientific results were not necessary based on empirical approaches, hypotheses or methods that might prove previously established assumptions. By getting rid of norms of Western-type scientific norms, some elements of the communist/socialist pedagogy became more similar to dogmatic descriptions and liturgy of religions. For instance, anthropological principles and evolution theories were also equally important in educating a new type of human being. Elements of syncretism of traditional religions can be perceived in mythological-symbolical repertoire of pedagogical works. Character of pedagogy that defined by the orthodoxy or transformed Marxism of Lenin and Stalin was messianic in these pedagogical volumes. Endowing humans with divinity qualities by using anthropological elements or creating socialist Decalogue, which served as basics for moral refinement. By using socialist pedagogical principles, this refinement could have achieved. These elements were all part of secular salvation, which promise stood behind the transformation of human being and thus, human societies (Acker, 2010).

Scientific recruitment and professional socialization

After universities had not been allowed to practice their promotion rights, the training of their own scientific recruitment was ceased to exist. Hungarian Scientific Academy was given different forms of scientific promotion thus, PPC had to control and coordinate the tasks of scientific recruitment and scientific research projects at colleges and universities. Besides the lack of scientist with committed communist political beliefs and excellent professional qualities resulted in preparing a five years plan by PPC in 1951. In this plan, exact numbers of scholars were determined who had to gain diploma in pedagogy in the Soviet Union.

Political reliability became an increasingly important aspect during the preparation for scientific career. Furthermore, these aspects were more important than scientific preparedness. While scientific elites of previous time periods had been chosen according to the principles of scientific preparation which determined by scientific performance in ideal typical level, members of nomenclature were appointed by the Party. Their election to membership of different boards were sheer formality (Huszár, 2007, p. 45). Important indicators of destabilisation of the old elite and solidification of a new one were nationalization, fading contours of market economy and new carrier models of social mobility, which were less connected to the school system.

Conclusion

By examining the changes of the discipline of *Pädagogik*, we can conclude that it was strongly characterized by the profound transformation of autonomy/heteronomy relations of the previously autonomous scientific field. The formation of basic elements of the party state created the political conditions of changing the whole spectrum of the scientific field. Institutional frameworks safeguarding the autonomy and standards of scientific work ceased and they were replaced by collective governing boards. This resulted in the elimination of the autonomy of Hungarian disciplinary spaces, which were previously relatively free from direct political influence.

Eliminating the autonomy of the Hungarian research institutions, which also determined the function of discipline of education in the first half of the century, it resulted in serious consequences of all components of the discipline of *Pädagogik*. By following the norms of nomenclature, it became the part of political-ideological field, which was authorized by totalitarian measures of the new political system. Hungarian scholars with professional and scientific autonomy became members of the "priest order" and they approached public and high education with missionary zeal. They also created the "atheist theology" of communist state religion and thus they also became the part of the political field (Bourdieu, 2005).

The Hungarian communist/socialist science as follower of the socialist *Pädagogik* opposed the Western-type meritocratic perception of science. Socialist scholars of this discipline denied to continue researches which based on previous principles and steps of examining educational phenomena: empiric approaches on perceived educational events, creating hypothesis and then confirming or dismissing them by using appropriate methodological processes. New theorists of *Pädagogik* transformed the pedagogical prescriptions of the Stalinist variant of Marxism-Leninism which declared normative principles as an atheist theology into doctrinaire pedagogical theorems. The socialist scholar of this transformed discipline was an ideological committed 'converter' who denied the principles of Western-type scientific ethos and used this political indoctrination as a tool in his work to re-educate the members of the society according to the party's current political ideology. In order to fulfil their aim, they used literary epic language instead of exact scientific language. It resulted in suppressing of the abstract cognition, the scientific analytical thinking, the critical approach and cognitive abstraction viewpoint.

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2.2 *Pädagogik* as an Academic Discipline in South European Countries

2.2.1 Pädagogik in the Last Two Hundred Years: The Italian Case

Simonetta Polenghi

The first chairs in the XIX century

The first Italian chairs of *Pädagogik* (originally named *Erziehungskunde*, *Pedagogia* in Italian) were set up in 1817 in Pavia and Padua in the Habsburg-ruled Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, as a consequence of the wider application of the *Politische Schulverfassung* of 1805. This had led to the establishment of the first chair of *Erziehungskunde* in Vienna in 1806, under Vincenz Eduard Milde. In accordance with Austrian law, the chairs of Pavia and Padua were held by priests, or professors who were proficient in German and could therefore read Milde, whose Treatise was imposed on all Habsburg Empire chairs, but was only translated into Italian in 1827. The chair in Pavia and Padua was linked to the chair of Philosophy and by 1824 to the chair of Religion, since the teaching requirement for the future Gymnasium teachers or private preceptors it catered for was only two hours per week (Chierichetti, 2012, De Vivo, 1983, pp.1–32).

In 1851, Thun-Hohenstein's reform, inspired by Herbart's educational theory, was introduced across the Habsburg Empire, including in the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia. *Pädagogik* lost its link to Religion and began to be taught by the professor of Philosophy. *Pädagogik* was deemed no longer necessary for future Gymnasium teachers, since specialisation was introduced. The *Fachlehrer* (specialist subject teacher) who taught either classics, or science and maths, but not both, replaced the *Klassenlehrer* (form teacher) in this reform (Mazohl, 2012). The Habsburg laws had the merit of introducing the chair of *Erziehungskunde* and of spreading Milde's theory which was very advanced, but since it was compulsory to stick to Milde, no original theory could be developed and consequently after 1851 Pedagogy diminished in significance in Pavia and Padua.

In 1845, a third chair of *Pädagogik* was set up in Turin, in the Kingdom of Sardinia. Despite political tensions, Austrian educational theory and pedagogy and the Austrian school system were considered as models. *Pädagogik* was considered the most relevant discipline for future teachers. This bore a Christian stamp, particularly in the case of Rosmini's theory (Chiosso, 2011; Gozzolino, 2007).

After Italian unification in 1861, chairs of *Pädagogik* (*Pedagogia*) were gradually established in some other universities, within the Faculty of Arts. *Pedagogia* was always linked with Philosophy and occupied a minor academic position. The position of Italian chairs offers many similarities to Wolfgang Brezinka's picture of academic chairs in the Habsburg Empire (Brezinka, 2000–2014).

The liberal governments that ruled Italy in the first years after unification were respectful of the Church, but the striving to establish Rome as the capital of Italy and the subsequent shrinking of the Papal State damaged the relationship between Italy and the Vatican. The cultural and political opposition between Church and State, which worsened after Rome's capture in 1870, drew papal Catholics away from the state schools and universities. In 1874, Catholics were prevented from voting in political elections by Pius IX's *non expedit* decree. Hostility towards the Church grew among governments over the following decades. The works of Comte, Stuart Mill and Spencer began to enjoy greater influence among intellectuals and politicians. Free masonry was also quite a powerful force, including in the Ministry of Education. Fierce argument raged around schools where no religion was taught and around a school system that did not recognise private and therefore Catholic schools, whose final certificates had no legal value (Palomba, 2008). Against this backdrop, the new professors of *Pedagogia* were mostly Positivist philosophers, such as Roberto Ardigò in Padua and Andrea Angiulli in Naples. In Pavia and subsequently in Rome, the Herbartian Luigi Credaro taught, turning his attention to the problem of elementary schools and teachers. Due to the political situation, Catholic educational theory had long been excluded from universities, with a few exceptions such as Turin, where the tradition survived thanks to Giuseppe Allievo.

The contrast between neo-Idealism, Positivism and Herbartism at the beginning of the XX century

At the beginning of the XX century, Italian universities had professors of Philosophy and Pedagogy who were either positivist, neo-Kantian or Herbartian. Benedetto Croce, a leading neo-Idealist philosopher, never joined the academic establishment and thereby retained total freedom of thought. He expressed vehement criticism of the academic philosophical and educational establishment, taking a stand against Positivism and Herbartism. The young Giovanni Gentile joined him in his cultural struggle.

Many bright intellectuals gathered around Croce and Gentile: a new generation, which was dissatisfied with the discredited Materialism and Darwinism and the dry rigidity of positivistic and Herbartian pedagogy (Turi, 2006), which had gradually taken over.

Gentile, who held academic teaching qualifications in both Philosophy and *Pedagogia* entered the academic world in 1906 as professor of History of Philosophy in Palermo. In 1914, he was appointed Professor of Philosophy in Pisa and was then called by Rome University in 1917. Gentile, like Croce, considered *Pedagogia* to be a part of philosophy. In 1911, his friend Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, a fellow Sicilian by birth, was appointed professor of *Pedagogia* in Catania, moving to Rome in 1924 (to the *Istituto di Magistero*, the antecedent of the present-day Faculty of Educational Sciences). In Florence Ernesto Codignola, a close associate of Gentile, had been teaching *Pedagogia* since 1918. These three intellectuals had all studied Philosophy in Pisa, an institution with a strong Hegelian tradition. They were at the time friends. Whilst Gentile's interests were mainly theoretical, Codignola and Lombardo Radice devoted their energies to the renewal of educational theory and teaching and built close links with elementary school teachers. Lombardo Radice was a particularly clever educationalist, who gradually inserted Progressive education into the neo-Idealistic anthropology, always considering man as a spiritual being and thus stressing the artistic dimension of learning and the necessity to respect the psychology of children and their way of thinking.

Credaro's neo-Herbartism was accused of arid intellectualism. The neo-Idealists opposed positivistic materialism and the prevalence of didactics over the education of the human spirit. They advocated school reform, with an education towards a national consciousness and patriotic ideals at its core. They acknowledged religious values and the need for a religious education for the popular and lower classes, thus gaining respect from the Catholic front, which eventually saw its demands recognised. Neo-Idealism considered religion as a minor philosophy, but at least defined man as a spiritual being, so that many Catholics appreciated neo-Idealistic philosophical ideas, even if these dismissed faiths as inferior to reason. In 1921, the Catholic University of Milan was founded as a private university. It was a centre of neo-Thomistic philosophy, countering Positivism, naturalism and neo-Idealism. The Professor of *Pedagogia* was Mario Casotti, an ex-follower of Gentile, who turned to Aquinas following his religious conversion (Bertin, 1989).

Appointed Minister of Education in Mussolini's first government, Gentile managed to accomplish wide-ranging school reform in 1923, bringing

years of debate and discussion to a point of culmination (Ostenc, 1980; Charnitzky, 1994, pp.73–154). Lombardo Radice, his right-hand man as Director of Primary Schooling in the Ministry of Education, provided the new programmes for elementary schools. Private universities, like the Catholic one, obtained legal recognition and equality with their state counterparts.

But after the murder of socialist politician Giacomo Matteotti in 1924, who had been critical of Mussolini, in 1925 the dictatorship began. The neo-Idealists reacted differently from one another and the united front broke down. Croce rejected Fascism and his relationship with Gentile, who did not, assumed a tone of sore polemic. Lombardo Radice had already rejected Fascism in 1924 and now resigned from his ministerial appointments. He was put under police surveillance. He remained a friend of Gentile, but developed a progressive pedagogy, gradually distancing himself from neo-Idealism.

Codignola abandoned Fascism from 1938 (his wife being Jewish). Another dissonant voice was Giovanni Calò, who from 1911 was professor of *Pedagogia* in the Faculty of Arts in Florence and director of the National Didactic Museum. Calò was not a neo-Idealist and gradually came close to a Christian humanism and progressive pedagogy (Scaglia, 2013). Another disciple of Gentile, Luigi Volpicelli, who had joined Fascism early and also had a good knowledge of progressive pedagogy (Dewey, Decroly, Kerschesteiner, Ferrière), cooperated with minister Giovanni Bottai in writing the School Charter of 1939 and in the same year replaced Lombardo Radice, who had died, taking up his chair in Rome (Zizioli, 2009).

Under Fascism, the chairs of *Pedagogia* were placed in the newly founded Teacher Training Faculty (*Facoltà di Magistero*, 1935) in universities, as well as in the Faculty of Arts. *Pedagogia* was central to teacher training, but occupied a secondary position in Philosophy due to the neo-Idealistic conception, which identifies the two disciplines, thus reducing *Pedagogia* to a branch of philosophy.

Republican Italy and democracy

With the arrival of democracy in 1945, new professors could be appointed, while others distanced themselves from Fascism. We lack a detailed picture of the chairs of *Pedagogia* in Republican Italy, as well as in the Kingdom of Italy, so we have to base our analysis on the biographies of some of the leading figures among professors of *Pedagogia*, keeping in mind

some key questions. After the war, Italy experienced a period of strong confrontation between the new Catholic Party (DC) and the Communist Party (PCI), which has to be seen as a reaction to the fall of the Fascist dictatorship but also needs to be read in the international context of the Cold War. The DC governed the country for years with the support of small parties who were heirs to a moderate liberal ideology. But in 1963, the Socialist Party (PSI) joined the government, following preparations towards this in 1962, thus opening the new phase of the so-called *Centro-Sinistra* (Centre-Left governments) (Ginsborg 1989/1990/2003).

In academic and intellectual circles, a neo-Idealistic culture persisted for decades, despite a disavowal of it in these same circles. Many intellectuals had received a neo-Idealistic education that still conditioned their approach. Ex-followers of Gentile like Casotti in Milan, Codignola in Florence, Volpicelli in Rome and Gino Ferretti in Palermo were all authoritative professors. Until the seventies, the debate on *Pedagogia* and education (*Bildung*) was still recognisably Gentilian in nature (Mencarelli 1986, vol.1). Professors of *Pedagogia* also taught history of *Pedagogia* (which was mainly a history of educational ideas, from an idealistic perspective) and didactics. The same professor had to master a number of different areas, and above all philosophy: there was still a unitary conception of *Pedagogia* as a whole, that was rooted in Idealism.

Pedagogia was long divided, with bitter quarrels about the role of religion, particularly in schools. But it was also deeply involved in social and political battles: in the fight against illiteracy, particularly in the south of Italy; in the fight for adult education; in the struggle for education to democracy. Not the least of the battles was on how to design a democratic middle school (for 11–14 year olds). This was particularly significant since school was compulsory to the age of 14 and Italy had three different middle school systems, based on pupils' social class, rather than on their cognitive abilities (Sani, 2006; Palomba, 2008). We can identify four main cultural positions in *Pedagogia*, as well as among teachers: a liberal/secular wing, close to Progressive education and then to Socialism; a Marxist wing; a Catholic one; and finally, some professors who held other positions, like Volpicelli, who rejected Progressive education and psychological functionalism and favoured figures like Spranger, Litt, and above all Hessen: a philosophy of values that was opposed to Dewey's ethical pragmatism (Chiosso, 2015, pp. 100–102; Zizioli, 2009). The Russian Hessen, who had been Rickert's pupil and who left the Soviet Union in 1923, was translated into Italian, because he had been in touch with Lombardo Radice and had been influenced by Gentile. His value theory, which connected democracy to national and

universal spiritual culture rather than to pragmatism, was appreciated in Italy in the 1950s and 1960s (Caroli, 2015, pp. 548–553)

The debate about democracy and education was influenced by Dewey. The real introduction of Dewey in Italy was brought about by the liberal and secular front, led by Codignola and Borghi. Codignola dropped Idealism in favour of pragmatism. He had met Carleton Washburne, who came to Italy in 1943 with the American army and stayed until 1948. Lamberto Borghi, being Jewish, had left Italy after the racial law of 1938 and went to the United States, where he met John Dewey and William H. Kilpatrick. He then became a full professor of *Pedagogia* in Palermo in 1952 and in 1955 replaced Codignola in Florence, where he remained until 1982. Borghi spread Dewey's thought, until then little known in Italy, editing many books of his and adopting and discussing his educational theory. Democracy had to be created on the basis of a rational religious faith, not a denominational one. State schools had to be neutral in terms of religion (Tassinari, 1987). Aldo Visalberghi, like Borghi, a Philosophy graduate from Pisa, (with a thesis on Benedetto Croce), won a Fulbright scholarship and was in the United States in 1952–1953, where he met Washburne and Kilpatrick. Later Professor of *Pedagogia* in Turin, Milan and Rome between 1962 and 1989, Visalberghi, who was a Socialist, edited Dewey's translations and disseminated a liberal theory of education which was both tolerant and pacifist. He wrote about evaluation and empirical research. The questions of religion as a school subject and of religious private schools produced heated debate. In 1955, the minister Ermini issued a new curriculum for elementary schools, largely based on progressive education and personalism, where Catholicism held a key role and which was disputed by the liberal/secular front.

In the aftermath of the war, the Communist Party (PCI) did not develop a school policy but concentrated on political organisation and militancy, modelled on the Soviet example. Catholic education was rejected as dogmatic; denominational schools were considered dangerous; Dewey's pedagogy was accused of being a false doctrine of freedom, an expression of American capitalism (Ragazzini, 1987, pp.106–187; Semeraro, 1982; Tassinari, 1987; Pruneri, 1999). In 1955 the Communist Party started to publish the journal *Riforma della Scuola* [School Reform] (1955–present day). The managing editor was Lucio Lombardo Radice, Giuseppe's son, a member of the PCI, and a professor of mathematics with a deep interest in education, clearly inspired by his father. The editor-in-chief was Dina Bertoni Jovine, an elementary school teacher, member of the PCI, and author of significant books on the history of education and schooling, who had only

managed to enter the academic world in 1967, when she became professor of *Pedagogia* in Catania (Semeraro, 1979). *Riforma della Scuola* accepted Antonio Gramsci's interpretation (his books had been published since 1948 and had gradually influenced Italian communism). Gramsci's reappraisal of culture and ideology, whereby they were not seen as mere superstructure, but as a powerful tool for class hegemony, allowed him to assign greater importance to school and education. The project of school reform was political as well as educational. The first revolution had to take place in men's consciences (Broccoli, 1972). Bertoni Jovine also praised Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, whose ethics lessons she never forgot.

In the 1950s, Italian schools were basically still governed by Gentile's reform. But in an age of rapid industrialisation and social change, and in a democratic country where illiteracy was strongly fought, the existence of three different types of middle school, based on parents' social class rather than on pupils' abilities, was a relic from an outdated world. The law of 31 December 1962 n.1859 brought into existence the single middle school (for children aged 11–13) (*Scuola media unica*), after decades of fierce debate. The political shift in the government, with the new alliance between the Catholic (DC) and the Socialist (PSI) parties, enabled this goal to be reached (Pazzaglia, 2001b). The 1962 single middle school law was a democratic result that arose also out of the engagement of professors with different cultural perspectives, being supported by the academic world, both secular and Catholic, for its democratic impact. From an educational point of view, Sergej Hessen's theory on the single middle school (for children aged 7–14) seen as rooted in a democratic political system was also relevant (Mazzetti, 1969). According to Hessen, in this level subject teachers had to be employed. As a result, the Italian single middle school offered a number of different disciplines, which had to be taught by specialist subject teachers, each of whom had to have a degree and a teaching qualification (Oliviero, 2007).

In the fifties and sixties, Italian professors of *Pedagogia* were indeed much involved in social battles: for adult education and literacy, for family education, (from the sixties onwards) for school renewal and changes in teaching methods (Fornaca, 1982). *Pedagogia* and "Bildungstheorie" were linked with philosophical and didactic questions (teacher training) as well as with social and political issues.

The personal political involvement of various professors was the expression of a civic feeling after Fascism. The cultural debate revolved around educational theory and anthropology, and school policy. Empirical research was carried out, but always within a strong philosophical

framework. Progressive education was gradually accepted and incorporated into the Christian tradition and into the communist perspective by the young generation of teachers. Dewey, Piaget and Bruner were debated, along with new media, such as television, and in the seventies, curriculum theory. Anglo-Saxon authors gradually overcame the French and German ones traditionally more present in Italian culture. From the sixties onwards, thanks also to the psychiatrist Franco Basaglia's campaign to close mental hospitals, special schools were also closed in 1977 and disabled pupils were included in mainstream schools.

The 1968 movement and the boom in enrolments in universities, partly the result of certain requirements connected with the type of high school previously attended being removed in 1969, led to the creation of a mass university population. More professors were required and their number started to increase. The strong (and often violent) protests held by students, trade unions and extra-parliamentary groups, and the social and political difficulties of the seventies, with the terrorist attacks of the Red Brigades who kidnapped and murdered ex-Premier Aldo Moro in 1978, also influenced the educational debate. Questions about ideologies and a capitalist school/university/ society system were raised by authors with left-wing sympathies. Catholic culture was still trying to settle after the Second Vatican Council. In Bologna, Giovanni Maria Bertin, a disciple of the philosopher Antonio Banfi, criticised the power of ideologies and defended the role of education as key in achieving a rejection of violence. The capacity for critical thinking and accepting different possibilities are central notions in his philosophy of "problematicism", in opposition to any totalitarianism.

Aldo Visalberghi, a partisan, socialist and full professor of *Pedagogia* in Rome from 1962, having graduated in Philosophy from the Scuola Normale in Pisa under Guido Calogero, promoted a democratic school along Deweyan lines, giving space for experimental education, evaluation and a deep interaction with social sciences. Empirical research, school tests and evaluation started to enter the educational discourse, after decades of neo-Idealistic dominion.

From the nineties: crisis of ideologies, academic expansion and specialisation

The fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 and the breakdown of communist ideology, together with the shattering of the Italian Catholic and Socialist parties, the rise of secularism, modernisation and social and cultural

changes that have affected Italy as well, have all affected pedagogical and educational theories. Old cultural divisions and ideological barriers began to fade. Faith in metaphysical/ideological absolute values was deeply challenged. Relativism and fragmentation, tolerance and globalisation were the watchwords. During the nineties, primary school teacher training was raised to university level (Fornaca, 1982; Mencarelli, 1986, vol. 2; Chiosso, 2015, pp. 115–230). In 1995 the Teacher Training Faculties (*Facoltà di Magistero*) became Faculties of Educational Sciences (*Facoltà di Scienze della formazione*), a change that clearly opened up graduate career pathways into the fields of social care and welfare. *Pedagogia* also became oriented towards extra school jobs. The collapse of ideologies, the creation of many new chairs in the nineties and the pressure towards specialisation led to particular consequences. The number of professors increased, but a mapping of the educational chairs is still lacking.¹

The Law n. 341 of 19 November 1990 introduced the notion of academic disciplinary sectors, defined by the decree of 12 April 1994 and by subsequent decrees. With regard to *Pedagogia* four sectors were set out by the Minister: general and social *Pedagogia* (*Allgemeine Pädagogik*), history of *Pedagogia*, teaching and experimental pedagogy. These sectors had sub-sectors, which were also rearranged at the time (children's literature was shifted from general *Pedagogia* to history of *Pedagogia*; special education, originally in general *Pedagogia* was moved to teaching). The disciplinary sectors are very important for academic competition and they are also a pillar of the didactic system. The last ministerial decree about disciplinary sectors (n. 336, 29 July 2011) defined the four sectors as follows:

1. **General and social Pedagogia:** philosophy of education, Early Childhood Educational Care/childhood and juvenile education, adult education and pedagogy, gender education, intercultural education, family education, education of marginalisation and social distress, school pedagogy, work education, environment education, psycho-education, neuro-pedagogy.
2. **History of Pedagogia:** history of educational theories, history of schooling, history of education, children's literature (theory and history), comparative education.
3. **Teaching methodologies and special education** (including technologies and media education).
4. **Empiric/experimental education.**

¹ Roberto Sani is leading the Italian group in the Standing Work Group of ISCHE *Mapping the discipline* 1987–2014, which will reconstruct the last 30 years of chairs.

There is of course some overlap (evaluation, for instance, is included in 3 and 4) but the image of the old professor of *Pedagogia*, a cultivated man with a solid philosophical background, who was equally conversant with history of education and didactics, has given way to specialists. New chairs were opened, which required specialised research. History, for instance, was no longer an idealistic history of pedagogical ideas, but rather a history of education and schooling, closely linked to modern and contemporary history, but also to religious and economic history, as well as cultural history. Archival sources, history of institutions, but also history of mentalities became required knowledge.

This process of specialisation and expansion is reflected in the birth of academic societies, at the moment numbering seven, each with its own journal and website: the Society of History of Education, CIRSE, founded in 1980 was the very first one; SIPED, Italian Society of *Pedagogia* which draws together professors from every educational discipline, was set up in 1986; the Society of Teaching and Research, SIRD, was founded in 1992; two societies of general *Pedagogia* and research were established in 2005 and 2004; the Society of Media Education, SIREM, set up in 2008; the Society of Special Education, SIPES, established in 2008. One for Fitness and Sport Pedagogy has just been launched (February 2017).

According to the official site of the Ministry of Education, University and Research, on 31 December 2016 there were 630 professors of *Pedagogia* (full professors, associate professors, assistant professors, research fellows), made up of: 283 in general and social *Pedagogia*; 182 in teaching methodologies and special education; 87 in history of *Pedagogia* and 78 in experimental education (http://cercauniversita.cineca.it/php5/docenti/vis_docenti.php, last retrieved 15.01.2017). There are more than 30 University Schools of Education, plus 7 online ones.

In recent years, as a consequence of the ministerial evaluation criteria, there has been an explosion of scientific pedagogical journals (in 2016 at least 35 classified A, plus many other new ones classified «Scientific» (see: http://www.anvur.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=254&Itemid=315&lang=it, last retrieved 15.01.2017): this is a mirror of academic specialisation but also of fragmentation. The idea of *Pedagogia* as the encyclopaedia of all pedagogical and educational knowledge has faded (Mariani, 2008). The breakdown of ideological barriers has generally produced respect for different anthropologies, but the risk of relativism is very strong (Acone, 1994, 2004). Teaching methods, new media and ICT have gained ground, so that technological tools, important as they are, may overwhelm the anthropological foundation of education in teacher

education and school policy. School policy is largely dominated by sociologists, economists and scientists, rather than by professors of education. Obsessed for decades by Gentile's heritage, eventually dismissed as a curse, Italian *Pedagogia* risks losing its tradition and its links with a sound anthropological perspective, thereby shackling itself to empirical analysis and limiting itself to teaching methods. In the traditional scheme of ends and means, the latter now tends to prevail (Massa, 1987; Chiosso, 2015, pp. 255-257).

Today's problems and challenges

The need to reduce the number of campuses and chairs in accordance with the state spending review is the reason why the law n.240 in 2010 abolished faculties (*Fakultäten*) replacing them with big schools, transferring to them the didactic tasks that formerly belonged to the faculties and abolishing the old departments, which had research tasks. As a result, old departments of *Pedagogia* merged with other departments in new schools, hence losing their autonomy, including in their research funding.

There is not a great deal of financial support for research from public and private bodies. The state, regional governments and public and private foundations issue calls for grants but they are mainly for research in what are usually called the 'hard' sciences. The economic problems of Italy thus affect both the research and the employment of young professors. Internationalisation, which is sometimes driven too much by the Ministry, but which is obviously a scientific need, is hardly easy, when there is a scarcity of funds. Evaluation assessments and bureaucratic assignments have become an overwhelming, time-consuming task for professors. Moreover, the National Agency for research quality evaluation and the Ministry of Education often change evaluation criteria for scientific accomplishments and for candidate professors, thus causing uncertainty.

The Ministry of Education favours didactics, special education, experimental education and evaluation over educational theory and history of education in teacher training. We are facing a political shift towards empirical research. Anglo-Saxon models prevail in ministerial documents, as well as in terminology: education is now preferred instead of *Pedagogia* as a word. This is in accordance with European policy: the ERC (European Research Council) definitions for scientific sectors, for instance, use the word education and have totally removed educational theory as well as history of education. The old SH4-11 Education: systems and insti-

tutions, teaching and learning, was been replaced with SH4-14 Teaching and learning, which in the last ERC List of December 2017 disappeared. Pedagogical issues have been expelled from SH4 macro sector and are thus confined to SH3 where they are confused with sociological ones (e.g. SH3_3 Social integration, exclusion, prosocial behavior; SH3-5 Social influence; power and group behaviour; classroom management; SH3-10 Social aspects of learning, curriculum studies, educational policies). In terms of fund applying, it means being evaluated by academically more powerful sectors.

The law n. 249 of 10 September 2010 expanded the length of the degree for primary school and nursery teachers from 4 to 5 years. In doing so, it introduced new compulsory scientific subjects such as physics, chemistry, natural sciences and sport, but reduced *Pedagogia* and removed philosophy entirely from the curriculum. This is a very significant change that clashes with Italian tradition, not only from the time of Gentile's reform, but stemming from the Normal schools established after Italian Unification, where philosophy was a compulsory subject.

There are some significant problems that currently affect the field of pedagogy in Italy, such as recurring changes in the Ministry of Education policy; the fragmentation of the field itself; as evidenced by ever-further specialisation in empirical research without an underlying educational rationale and vice versa; ill-founded assumptions about internationalisation. But there is a positive element that it still retained: the constant capacity to get involved with societal changes. Topics like: the inclusion in school of children with disabilities; respect for diversity; religious tolerance; an intercultural approach; female and gender policy and education; adult education; teacher training; neuro-didactics; educational technologies for people with disabilities; media education, environmental education; ECEC; informal education; pedagogy of work; the inclusion of migrants and minors, are constantly dealt with by Italian *Pedagogia*, which is still involved with social problems and educational needs, often retaining a philosophical approach (even if often not a metaphysical/sound anthropological one) (see <http://www.eera-ecer.de/about/members/the-state-of-educational-research-in-italy/>, last retrieved 15.01.2017).

Last but not least, the presence of women in the academic world has been growing in recent decades. Women's presence had been very limited in the universities of the Kingdom of Italy. Montessori managed to pass the national exam to become an unsalaried lecturer (*Liberio docente/Privatdozent*) in Anthropology in 1904, the fifth woman to achieve this in Italy, but soon left a world which was full of prejudices against women and

feminists especially (Polenghi 2008). Her method was often seen under the suspicion of materialism and accused of being artificial. The method of the catholic Agazzi sisters was preferred by the minister and professor of *Pedagogia* Credaro, in his programmes for Infant schools of 1914, as well as those of 1923 of Lombardo Radice. The Fascist regime initially supported Montessori, until she left Italy in 1934. In the aftermath of the war and still in the fifties, the Italian academic world refused her (Mazzetti, 1963, p. 227). Codignola and Bertoni Jovine, for instance, criticised her. Casotti favoured Agazzi sisters. Very few, like Borghi, appreciated her (Cives, 1987, pp. 191–192; Fornaca, 1982, pp. 165–166). Only in the sixties the prejudices of Italian academic pedagogy against Montessori began to fade and her work started being analysed in a more objective way.

Women's research was accepted with difficulties. Valeria Benetti Brunelli (1878–1947) was an unsalaried lecturer of *Pedagogia* in Rome from 1920 and of History of education from 1933 to 1945. She worked intensively with Credaro and Gentile, but in spite of her commitment and many publications, she was never admitted to the academic establishment. When Giuseppe Lombardo Radice died, his chair went to Luigi Volpicelli, not to her. Only in the Republic, and very slowly, have women managed to gain a recognised role. Dina Bertoni Jovine, as mentioned above, was only awarded the chair in 1967. Iclea Picco (1911–2013), a disciple of Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, taught History of education in Rome from 1955 and *Pedagogia* from 1965. Women have only become full professors of pedagogy since the seventies, when the universities experienced a boom and mentalities started to change. It is worth pointing out that in the *Istituto di Magistero*, later the Teacher Training Faculty (*Facoltà di Magistero*) and eventually the Faculty/School of Educational Sciences, there has always been an overwhelming majority of female students, whereas the professors have long been men. In December 2016, the area of *Pedagogia* (4 scientific sectors) boasts 136 full professors, of whom 64 are women: parity has nearly been reached (47% are women) (http://cercauniversita.cineca.it/php5/docenti/vis_docenti.php, last retrieved 15.01.2017), but that is not enough. The official ISTAT data of 2008/09 testifies that the Faculty of Educational Sciences has the highest percentage of female students: 91.2% (http://statistica.miur.it/Data/uic2008/Gli_Studenti.pdf, last retrieved 15.01.2017).

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2.2.2 Roots and Developments of *Pädagogik* in Spain

Gonzalo Jover

This chapter focuses on three key moments in the origin and development of *Pädagogik* (*pedagogía*) as an academic discipline in Spain. Each of the three moments looks at a pedagogical tradition set somewhere in Europe. Our path will therefore require us to travel the continent. Along the way, this process will reveal a succession of discontinuities and overlaps, the effect of which is a gradual separation of what was once called "high *pedagogía*" from "low *pedagogía*".

The first of the three moments goes back to 1904, when a Chair of higher *pedagogía* was created for doctoral studies in the Faculty of philosophy at what was then known as Central University in Madrid. The appointment was given to Manuel Bartolomé Cossío, an influential member of the Institute of Free Teaching (*Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, ILE), the main Spanish educational experiment of the time. The government initiative sparked considerable controversy among the university staff. An unexpected detour will take us to Prague and reveal that the motivation behind this rejection was not the supposed weakness of *pedagogía*, but perhaps the fear of the power that it could take on.

The second moment is the institutional development and disciplinary diversification of *pedagogía* in the thirties. In 1932, undergraduate pedagogical studies commenced in the Faculty of philosophy at the University of Madrid, and the following year at the University of Barcelona. The initiative arose with the purpose of encouraging the cultivation of "educational sciences". The reference for this expression was the *Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau* that Édouard Claparède had founded in Geneva in 1912 with the name of School of educational sciences. So in Spain the old *pedagogía*, based on idealistic philosophy, was now replaced by empirical sciences, sometimes carrying with them a more positivist orientation. But something still remained that prevented *pedagogía* from entirely dissolving in experimental knowledge.

The third moment refers to the reappearance of the educational sciences approach in the 1960s. The Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) had meant, first, the suspension of pedagogical studies in the universities and, later, the return to *pedagogía* in the singular. However, by the late 1960s the educational sciences model made a comeback. On this occasion, it was imported from France and remained as an administrative and epistemological

structure until the 1990s. Both in France and in Spain, educational sciences were proposed as an alternative to *Pädagogik* (*pédagogie*, *pedagogía*). Nevertheless, what the words *pédagogie* and *pedagogía* evoked in one place and the other was different, so the same happened with the meaning of the alternative. Thus, in Spain the new framework did not annul the old *pedagogía*, but overlapped it. In both, France and Spain, however, the result was a widening of the gap between the *higher pedagogy*, studied at universities, and the *lower pedagogy* of the teacher. Despite the institutional unification of pedagogical studies and teacher training in the 1990s, with the creation of Faculties of education in Spain, and the changes introduced by the European Higher Education Area, this gap is still very much alive.

The Chair of higher *pedagogía*

In Spain, *pedagogía* got its start as an academic discipline at the turn of the 19th to 20th century, driven by a set of events such as the creation of the normal schools for the training of teachers in the mid-1800s and the inclusion of *pedagogía* as part of the program, the hosting of the first conferences on the subject, and the creation of the Primary Instruction Museum (*Museo de Instrucción Primaria*) in 1882. This was later renamed the National Pedagogical Museum (*Museo Pedagógico Nacional*), and a course in *pedagogía* began to be taught there in 1901. The founding moment, however, may be pinpointed as 1904. A Royal Order of the 30th April of that year created the Chair of higher *pedagogía* in the doctoral program at the Faculty of philosophy of the Central University of Madrid, and appointed to that chair Manuel Bartolomé Cossío, one of the driving forces behind the Institute of Free Teaching (ILE).

The ILE had been founded by Francisco Giner de los Ríos in 1876 as an autonomous institution, not under the control of the State or the Church. It represented progressive liberal values and had ties to many of the innovations designed to modernize the Spanish education system at the turn of the century. Its approach to education was based on the philosophy of the German philosopher Karl Christian Friedrich Kraus, brought to Spain in the mid-19th century by Julián Sanz del Río. The founding of the Chair of higher *pedagogía* was the culmination of pressure from the Institute to bring *pedagogía* into the university.

The adjective “higher” (superior) in the name of the chair was occasionally used in some disciplines that were new to the university system. Its use denoted the wish to distinguish university-level *pedagogía* from what

was offered in the normal schools where teachers received their training (Ruiz Berrio, 2004, p. 118). Cossío, who was very much aware of the value of school teachers, did not approve of the name, as he made clear at a conference in Bilbao shortly after taking the chair:

There is a fetishism regarding teachers that we have to overcome. It consists of believing, as the general public does, that there are categories in the education function; that there is a teaching hierarchy that goes along with the position; that, in short, there are different pedagogies, one higher and one lower, and who's to say, perhaps even one in between. (Cossío, 1966, p. 191)

The report of the Council of Public Instruction on the candidate proposed for the chair, that accompanied the Order regulating its creation, mentions the pedagogical seminars "that already exist at other universities abroad, namely in Jena and Prague". This explicit reference to a precedent for the theoretical and practical orientation that teaching should have, offered a justification for Cossío's appointment because of his post as Director of the National Pedagogical Museum (Consejo de Instrucción Pública, 1904, p. 533). Especially intriguing is this reference to the Pedagogical Seminar in Prague, practically unheard of in Spain, along with the famous seminar started by Karl Volkmar Stoy in Jena. What, if anything, could that reference possibly have meant? The question becomes even more complicated taking into account that in 1904 there was not one university Pedagogical Seminar in Prague, as the report could lead us to assume, but two: the German one and the Czech one, a situation which resulted from the split of Charles-Ferdinand University in 1882.

The first Pedagogical Seminar was constituted at the university in Prague in October 1876 at the hand of Otto Willmann, a Catholic Herbartian, for the training of secondary school teachers. The same year that the university split in two, forced by pressure to allow Czech to be used as language of instruction, a second Pedagogical Seminar was created at the Czech university, in parallel with the first, which was still being given at the German speaking university. Like its predecessor, the purpose of this seminar was to prepare future teachers of secondary education, this time at the initiative of Gustav Adolf Lindner. Epistemologically, *pedagogika* evolved in the Czech seminar from the philosophy of Herbart toward French and British Positivism, moved by an aspiration of national assertion and differentiation from German *Pädagogik* and the Austrian education system (Mauer, 1920, pp. 14–19). Even though the reference in the report from the Spanish Council of Public Instruction gives no indication as

to which of the two seminars it referred, the tradition of Spanish *pedagogía* at that time, together with the knowledge of the German language, point to Willmann's seminar rather than to the Czech one.

The proposal for Cossío to take the Chair of higher *pedagogía* was opposed by several professors at the Central University, including the Dean of the Faculty of philosophy. Why this mistrust? One possible answer lies with the alleged weakness of pedagogic knowledge itself. Émile Durkheim had referred to this issue in that same year of 1904 at the start of his course on *L'évolution pédagogique en France*. There he spoke of a prejudice "that strikes at pedagogy (*pédagogie*) in general with a kind of discredit. It is depicted as a very inferior form of speculation" (Durkheim, 1990, p. 10). The allusion to the Jena and Prague seminars in the report from the Spanish Council of Public Instruction can then be seen as a search for support from Germanic quarters to legitimize the study of *pedagogía* in university classrooms while also justifying Cossío's suitability for the job, given his theoretical and practical background.

The joint reference to the seminars in Jena and Prague suggests moreover an appeal to Herbartian *Pädagogik* to justify the theoretical and practical nature of the chair, especially if, as we assume, the seminar in Prague to which the report referred was Willmann's. Discussions on how Herbart's ideas were brought to Spain usually highlight the activity of people who were involved in the ILE at the end of the first decade in the 20th century. However, what is not pointed out often enough is that, along with them, there was also an even earlier interest in assimilating this German *Pädagogik* into Spanish Catholic tradition. Indeed, the Jesuit priest Ramón Ruiz Amado became familiar with Herbart precisely through the works of Otto Willmann, who he discovered around 1903. Willmann gave Ruiz Amado ideas on how to integrate the scientific underpinnings of Herbartian *Pädagogik* with the postulates of Catholicism, thereby letting him make a firm theoretical construction in defense of the traditional system of teaching and thus compete with Spanish liberal reformists on scientific grounds (Sangüesa, 1973, pp. 123–125 and 261–270).

Cossío was also familiar with Herbart's *Pädagogik*, but distrusted it "because he thought it was not in the teacher's hands to construct the personality of the learners having in mind a fixed idea of what to achieve. Rather, he believed that we have a seed-box of possibilities that can be oriented but not forced, since the teacher sets the conditions for education to take place, but cannot be its cause" (Otero, 2005, p. 35). This stepping away from the Herbartian system is understandable from the Krausist basis of the ILE and its ties with Froebel's *Pädagogik*. From these philosophical and peda-

gological grounds, the member of the ILE argued that education should be neutral, or at least unbiased, vis-à-vis any religious position. One may then suspect that the university faculty's uneasiness regarding the establishment of the Chair of higher *pedagogía* was not so much about the debility of pedagogic knowledge, but about how strong this sort *pedagogía* could become once raised to the rank of an academic discipline.

Although by the time the chair was created, Krausism had lost much of its thrust and Cossío was already exploring other avenues, from the conservative ranks of the university there was reason to fear that adding *pedagogía* into the doctoral program at the Faculty of philosophy would lead to a questioning of the pillars that upheld the traditional view of teaching. In the context of this discussion, the appeal to Willmann's Pedagogical Seminar in Prague can be interpreted not only as a way to justify the inclusion of both theoretical and practical knowledge of education, but also, on another reading, as a strategy to appease Catholic ranks, to assuage their fears and clear the way for integrating *pedagogía* into the university (Jover, 2009).

The Sections of *pedagogía*

After the Chair of higher *pedagogía* was established in 1904, other initiatives took place in Spain in the early 20th century that reinforced the institutionalization of pedagogic knowledge. One of them was the School of Higher Studies in Teaching (*Escuela de Estudios Superiores del Magisterio*), created in Madrid in 1909 to train teachers of the normal schools. A second important initiative was the Pedagogical Seminar of the University of Barcelona, founded in 1930 by Joaquín Xiaru. Such initiatives gained renewed strength with the creation of the Section of *pedagogía* at the Faculty of philosophy at the University of Madrid in 1932, and at the University of Barcelona one year later. The Sections of *pedagogía* were structures of organizing undergraduate and postgraduate studies of education in the Faculty, and they were added to the already existing Sections of philosophy, history and language.

The Government decree of January 27, 1932, establishing the Section of *pedagogía* in the University of Madrid eliminated the Chair of higher *pedagogía*, vacant since Cossío's retirement in 1929. It also dissolved the School of Higher Studies in Teaching, whose staff was shifted over to the Faculty of philosophy. This initiative arose with the purpose of encouraging "the cultivation of educational sciences and the development of higher

pedagogical studies, as well as training secondary school teachers, normal school teachers, inspectors of primary schools and directors of large grade schools” (Gaceta de Madrid, 1932, art. 1). To follow this purpose, the decree enabled the Section of *pedagogía* to run courses for three types of diplomas: a certificate, a 5-year degree, and a doctorate degree. Eight chairs were established as the basis of the Section’s work: philosophy, paidology, pedagogy, history of culture, history of pedagogy, biology applied to education, human physiology and school hygiene, and methodology of social and economic sciences. The success of these studies was considerable. The Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts announced scholarships for teachers who wanted to follow the courses offered by the Section of *pedagogía*. The demand surpassed all expectation, and the Ministry had to come up with special measures so that the teachers currently working could follow the courses even if they did not have a scholarship.

An important matter to highlight, and one that often goes unnoticed, is the use the decree makes of the expression “educational sciences” (*ciencias de la educación*) in the plural. This name had already circulated around Spain in the first two decades of the 20th century. In the 1930s, it gained official status in some administrative dispositions regarding teachers and their training. These dispositions and the creation of the Sections of *pedagogía* came about at the same time that Domingo Barnés, the main promoter of paidology in Spain, took responsibilities in the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts. Barnés belonged to the second generation of ILE members. Although the influence of the ILE can still be seen in these events, the context here is no longer that of German philosophy and *Pädagogik*. This has now largely yielded to a Swiss influence, specifically from Geneva, where Édouard Claparède had founded the J. J. Rousseau Institute in 1912, with the name of School of Educational Sciences (Jover & García, 2016).

Since 1890, the *Faculté des lettres et des sciences sociales* at the University of Geneva had an Extraordinary Chair of *pédagogie* held by Paul Duproix. At that time, *pédagogie* was defined as an applied philosophy (Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 2001). This was the approach maintained by Duproix, who in his 1895 book *Kant et Fichte et le problème de l’éducation*, stated: “Rightly concerned over the necessary dependence that binds *pédagogie* to psychology, not all contemporary pedagogues have picked up equally on the narrower subordination that binds it to morality” (Duproix, 1895, p. 44).

The creation of the J. J. Rousseau Institute, initially separate from the university, challenged this conception. Hofstetter explains that, under the influence of Wilhelm Wundt, the duo made up of Theodore Flournoy and Édouard Claparède at the University of Geneva was the instigator of the

inaugural change in the epistemological bases on which psychology was founded, thus becoming the seed of the institutionalization of the "educational sciences". In 1891, the Faculty of sciences at Geneva created a Chair of physiological psychology for Flournoy, who soon added a Laboratory of experimental psychology, a counterpart to the one founded by Wundt in Leipzig. In 1904, management of the laboratory passed to Flournoy's cousin, Édouard Claparède, who two years later established a seminar of pedagogical psychology, or seminar of experimental pedagogy (*séminaire de pédagogie expérimentale*) (Hofstetter, 2010, pp. 91–126). This seminar never managed to acquire the constancy Claparède hoped for. As Pierre Bovet would tell years later, "in the Faculty of letters, the professor of *pédagogie* (i.e., Duproix) stated that the seminar invaded his area; the Faculty of sciences frowned upon this initiative of a science that, although represented by Flournoy, had not yet completely conquered its rank as such" (Bovet, 1932, p. 10). Claparède, however, did not give in. The fruit of his labors was the creation of the *Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau*.

Claparède's Institute sparked a great deal of interest in Spain. In the retrospect Bovet published for its 20th anniversary, he referred to the presence in Geneva of several Spanish pedagogues, such as Pau Vila, Pedro Roselló and Mercedes Rodrigo. He also noted the interest in the Institute by the most renowned members of the ILE, such as Cossio himself, as well as a few initiatives undertaken in Barcelona. He referred to the figure of "our friend Barnés" and his promotion of a book collection with the productions of the Institute at the *La Lectura* publishing house (ibid., pp. 151–152). Therefore, it is no coincidence that the second institutionalization of *pedagogía* in the 1930s, now in the form of educational sciences, should happen coinciding with Domingo Barnés's years at the Ministry of Public Instruction. Barnés knew well the J. J. Rousseau Institute and Claparède's functional psychology. The growing influence of the latter can be seen in the successive re-issues of Barnés's main work, *Paidology*, the result of his doctoral dissertation submitted in 1904, the same year in which the Chair of higher *pedagogía* was created. The evolution of the different versions of the text reveals increasingly greater weight being given to functionalism and "a distancing from the German child psychology that had previously held great influence on his work" (Carda & Carpintero, 1993, p. 92). Thus, although the original 1904 text barely mentioned Claparède, by the 1932 edition he is the fourth most often cited author after Pestalozzi, Rousseau and Herbart, and followed immediately by John Dewey (ibid., p. 163).

The reference to John Dewey in this setting is inevitable. As Tröhler points out, not in vain is there a certain rapport on both sides of the Atlan-

tic in the institutionalization of pedagogy and its introduction in the universities. On both sides, “educational research focused on modern psychology, which had it easier getting established as an academic discipline in the universities than the field of education did: psychology acted as an institutional stirrup for education and changed education by that” (Tröhler, 2011, p. 132). It may be said that Barnés, Claparède and Dewey formed a triangle, with Claparède in the middle. He wrote the introduction to the collection of Dewey’s works in French, *L’École et l’Enfant*, published in 1913. In it, Claparède tried to establish a certain separation between pragmatic philosophy and Dewey’s educational ideas (Claparède, 1931, pp. 13–14). For his part, Barnés was also one of the main proponents of Dewey in Spain. In this respect, he based his work on Claparède, with whom he shared the thesis that “although Dewey’s psycho-pedagogy is the faithful expression of pragmatism, its fate is by no means bound to the fate of that doctrine” (Barnés, 1926, p. 14). The detachment of Dewey’s educational proposals from its pragmatist trunk led Barnés to make a transcendentalist reading of them, in which *growth* becomes *self-realization* (Jover, 2016).

The creation of the Sections of *pedagogía* at the universities in Madrid and Barcelona under the umbrella of educational sciences, most likely at the hands of Barnés, reveals the continuity of the efforts of the ILE to bring the study of education to the university, first expressed in 1904 with the provision of the Chair of higher *pedagogía*. However, in some ways it also represented a rupture. Gone was the old, idealistic view. And yet, something still remained of the original intentionality that prevented all *pedagogía* from dissolving in experimental knowledge. In contrast to American pragmatism, the modernization that Barnés and others sought could not mean relinquishing pedagogy’s claims to the world of transcendental ideals. The non-confessional and neutral spirit that inspired the ILE did not let them to deny these ideals, as Barnés himself announced in an article of 1920:

Instead of seeking out humanity in history and in sociology, that is, instead of looking for the reality humankind has created, and strive for education to offer that reality as a model and chain the new generations to it, humanism should seek in human beings what is permanent yet evolving: their spirit, more attentive, in their ascendant drive, to the future than to the past. For it is their function in life to foresee that future, their projection in it, the ongoing trial with perfectible reality, their tendency of being the only finite beings capable of striving for the infinite (Barnés, n.d, pp. 45–46).

The comeback of educational sciences

After the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) pedagogical studies were not reorganized officially until 1944 in Madrid and until 1954 in Barcelona. The decree that enabled this reopening in fact used the word “creation”, perhaps intentionally to show a clean break from the previous period. In accordance with this disassociation with any trace of the past, the chairs created in 1944 bore little if any relation with the ones set up twelve years earlier. They re-situated *pedagogía* in a spiritual context, with a view to counterbalance its thriving experimental tenor in previous decades (García Hoz, 1944). Reopening the studies therefore meant a return to *pedagogía* in the singular.

However, in the late 1960s, the educational sciences approach made a comeback, resurging with strength as an administrative and epistemological structure of pedagogical studies. But the context now is different from that of the 1930s. We now find ourselves in the waning days of the dictatorship (1939–1975), when openly ideological objectives gave way to a technocratic policy aimed at economic development. This shift was visible in the educational reform established in the General Education Law of 1970, and gave rise to rapid developments in pedagogical studies at Spanish universities under the model of educational sciences. From 1973 to 1981, the number of universities offering these study programs increased by nearly fivefold, from four (Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Pontifical University of Salamanca) to nineteen. Because the past was now forgotten, no link with previous contexts was sought; not with the Cossio-German context, nor with Claparède’s initiative in Geneva. Rather, what became newly relevant was what was underway in universities in France.

In December 1966, the French Ministry of National Education called a small number of people to form a commission in charge of analyzing the project of creating specialized university courses dedicated to education. The session was attended by Maurice Debesse, Gaston Mialaret and Paul Fraisse, along with representatives from the French administration. These professors and others, such as Jean Château and Jean Stoetzel, had been meeting informally at the Sorbonne to discuss the possibilities of supporting these studies above and beyond a few isolated initiatives that had taken place at their universities (Mialaret, 2000, p. 17). The Ministry representatives proposed the name *pédagogie* but the members of the commission were able to sway them to use “educational sciences” (*sciences de l’éducation*) (Altet & Mosconi, 2001, p. 12). Years later, Maurice Debesse,

who seems to be the one behind the initiative for the alternative name, explained his reasons for preferring it:

If I proposed and got them to use the expression sciences de *l'éducation* at the level of university teaching, rather than talk of *pédagogie*, it was by no means out of any disdain for the old term, or any wish to replace it by ridiculous usurpation with a more pompous title. It was because the word *pédagogie* had become doubly equivocal, being at the same time both too limited and too vague.

Equivocal because the *pédagogie* of any teaching at the elementary, secondary or higher level designates in French an aspect of this teaching, its *didactic* side, so to speak, with a word our foreign friends are much more willing to use than the French (...) Equivocal also because *pédagogie* today denotes both everyday teaching practice and research of a scientific kind. (Debesse, 1973, vol. 1, p. 71)

Underlying the proposal to name the studies “educational sciences” was thus an intention to emphasize the scientific dimension of studies in education to offset any didactic exclusiveness and the identification of *pédagogie* with experiential practice. On one hand, the new name was meant to extend education beyond the field of schools, and on the other, to lend the aura of scientific knowledge to its study, above ideological discussions. There was no lack of critics against this attempt at scientificizing the field of education, especially from the theories of reproduction, *pédagogie institutionnelle*, and socio-psychoanalysis. For others, those critics were precisely who decreed la mort de la *pédagogie* (Ferry, 1967).

In both places, France and Spain, educational sciences were proposed as an alternative to *pédagogie* and to *pedagogia*. But since there were shades of difference in what these terms meant in each place, the alternatives took on different shades of meaning as well. In France, which started off with a protracted institutional vacuum, it was hoped the proposal of educational sciences would first and foremost highlight the possibility of scientific study of education beyond its purely practical meaning. In other words, the aim was to reintegrate *pédagogie* into the university in new attire to make it more attractive, which meant differentiating it from the didactic-intentioned *pédagogie* studied in the teacher training programs. Educational sciences represented an epistemological change in which the epicenter shifted from a prescriptive concern with everyday educational practice, to a more scientific, objective and disinterested study of the variables that affect that practice. In Spain, which had a background of institutionalization, the appeal to educational sciences tried to provide an alter-

native to the old speculative *pedagogía*; an alternative that aspired to being built on the model of experimental science. In Spain, when it was said that educational sciences were meant to bring knowledge closer in line with practice, what was being underscored was the need for a *pedagogía* that was less metaphysical, more down-to-earth.

Despite these differences, in both contexts discourse on educational sciences assumed understanding education more as something to study than as something to do. Educational sciences were conceived of as knowledge of action and for action but not really derived from action. Referring to the effects of this approach, Gauthier noted:

Little by little, two parallel, autonomous worlds are created: the world of science and the world of "action". Two divergent interests become apparent: the ones geared to improving the means of teaching and the ones of the university faculties that aim to explain the phenomena; two types of knowledge as well: know-how transferrable to practice, and knowledge of a more disinterested kind; two kinds of professionals: teachers who want to solve their classroom problems right away and subsidized researchers who want to publish in journals with evaluation committees. (Gauthier, 1992, p. 144)

Conclusion: the double-edged culture of training

The process of configuring *pedagogía* as an academic discipline in Spain over the last hundred years has been rife with continuities and discontinuities. While its initial institutionalization marked the triumph of the thesis of the progressive pedagogues from the Institute of Free Teaching to bring *pedagogía* into the university fold, it also involved a risk, as Cossío had warned in 1904 when he criticized talk of a "higher" *pedagogía* in contrast to a "lower" one. Cossío's words at the time reveal a mind-set that over time consolidated a two-sided structure of training: one of the teachers at the normal schools and the other of the pedagogues at the university. Even in the 1930s, the sections of *pedagogía* at the universities of Madrid and Barcelona were burgeoning with primary school teachers who were looking for a broader training, to the point that the Ministry had to come up with measures to let working teachers follow the studies. However, advocates of reinstating the educational sciences approach in the 1960s observed how the training adopted since the end of the civil war widened the gap between the world of higher *pedagogía* and the world of the teaching practice (De La Orden, 1979, pp. 246–247). And yet, when the new approach

was incorporated, rather than bridging the gap, it came to reaffirm it, this time by appealing to science. Educational sciences took a step closer to the empirical territory of practice, but from the observatory of a higher knowledge that ensures control and efficiency of the system. Schools and schoolteachers alike thus turn into the recipients of aims and knowledge developed in other places.

Neither the introduction in 1970 of the teacher training programs at the university, with the creation of University Schools of Education (*Escuelas Universitarias de Formación del Profesorado de Educación General Básica*) based on a view of the teacher as a technical operator, nor the creation in 1990 and onward of Faculties of education, which at many universities institutionally joined teacher training with pedagogical studies, made any substantial variation in the two-sided culture of training. As Dewey said, “old ideas give way slowly; for they are more than abstract logical forms and categories. They are habits, predispositions, deeply engrained attitudes of aversion and preference” (Dewey, 2007, p. 11). In consequence, the persistence of this double culture has in our century conditioned the proposals for adapting study programs to the European Higher Education Area (Jover & Villamor, 2014, p. 88). The proposals formulated by the teacher training programs had a predominantly instrumental orientation, whereas pedagogical studies proposals were closer to the profile Donald Schön called *the reflective practitioner* (Schön, 1983).

The scores of Spanish school pupils on international achievement tests, the recurrent appearance of teacher training in the news, and certain administrative measures on the configuration of university degrees, have underscored the advisability of revising the training of future teachers. The scenario opened provides a new historic chance to encourage shortening the gap between the two cultures that Cossio referred to in the origins of institutionalization of *pedagogía* as an academic discipline in Spain.

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2.3 *Pädagogik* as an Academic Discipline in South-East European Countries

2.3.1 Pädagogik Between Tradition and Modernity: The Case of Macedonia

Suzana Miovska-Spaseva

Pädagogik (Mac. Pedagogija) is one of the oldest academic disciplines in Macedonia, with almost a century long tradition. It is one of the main pillars of Macedonian higher education that has enabled its centennial development. Two stages, with two beginnings of the study of *Pädagogik*, could be identified. One lasted for two decades of the inter-war period (1920–1941), during which the foundations of the higher education in the territory of Macedonia were established within the then Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The study of *Pädagogik* in this period had exclusively an ideological role and a “national” mission of spreading Serbian influence among Macedonian people. The other stage refers to the 70-year period of free development of Macedonian higher education after the Second World War (1946–2016), when the *Pädagogik* has been developed within the first Macedonian higher education institution, the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje¹. Seventy years are not a long life for an educational institution worldwide, but for the specific Macedonian context, it is almost the full duration of free Macedonia. It takes in the history of the national educational system, also of Macedonian higher education. Those seventy years have witnessed an intense educational and cultural development in which *Pädagogik* and the training of pedagogical staff have had extremely important roles in developing the Macedonian society and scientific thought. In fact, the developmental path of the study of *Pädagogik* has been reflecting the socio-political and educational movements and turmoil in the region, as well as the major efforts of the Macedonian intellectuals for educational, scientific and social progress.

¹ Since its beginning in 1946 until 1994, when educational studies in the Albanian language were established within the State University in Tetovo, the Institute of *Pädagogik* at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was the only higher education institution in Macedonia to provide a four-year university preparation of educational scholars.

Roots of *Pädagogik* in Macedonia

The study of *Pädagogik* represents the foundation of higher education in Macedonia and reflects its developmental stages and challenges. It has been developed within three different states with different political and educational systems. The very beginnings go back to the 20s of the last century, when the Faculty of Philosophy was founded in Skopje, as a branch of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade (Uredba o Filozofskom fakultetu u Skoplju, 1920), and when the chair of *Pädagogik* alongside the chairs of Language, Literature, Philosophy and History took the responsibility for preparation of the teaching staff for schools in the southern part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This first higher educational institution in the territory of Macedonia implemented foreign national and educational policy, since it was expected that the secondary school teachers who were trained in *Pädagogik* would "develop the national consciousness" of "the Serbian people" in "South Serbia" (Kartov, 1973, p.103). Nevertheless, its two-decade long existence in the period between the two world wars was the basis on which to develop higher education and pedagogical thought in free Macedonia.

1946 marked the beginning of a new study of *Pädagogik* within the newly established Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, i.e., the first Macedonian higher education institution as the root of the first university in Macedonia set up three years later (Zakon za univerzitetot vo Skopje, 1949). These beginning of the study of *Pädagogik* as well as of higher education in the socialist Macedonia in general, were modest: staff was insufficient, working conditions were inadequate, but enthusiasm was great, and the importance of the studies and the need for educational training was socially recognized. Studies began with only one teacher of history of *Pädagogik*, a graduate from the Faculty of Philosophy in Prague, holder of PhD degree from the the University of Nancy, France (Temkov, 2006, p. 50). The shortage of teachers in this initial stage was covered by hiring professors from other university centers of the former Yugoslav federation, especially professors from the Faculties of Philosophy in Zagreb and Belgrade. During the 60s and 70s of the last century the number of home teachers was gradually increasing to form the first generation of teaching and research staff of the Institute of *Pädagogik* who actually laid the foundations of educational science and education in Macedonia and opened the path for the next generations of Macedonian educational scholars.

During the 46 years of development of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia within the unified system of Federal Yugoslavia (1945–1991), the

foundations of the national system of education were established, and the pre-war tradition of higher education was resumed. All the chairs within the Faculty of Philosophy, including the one of *Pädagogik* implemented the theory of socialist education that was built on the ideological foundations of Marxism, which were understood as a scientific theory, a class liberating ideology and revolutionary praxis of the working class (Damjanovski, 1985, p. 28). During this period, the Institute of *Pädagogik* witnessed the general trend in Macedonian higher education of continuous increase in the number of students, but it also experienced many challenges and tensions, particularly in relation to the compatibility of its studies with secondary education, as well as in aligning its academic offerings with the needs of the science and the labour market and its social and cultural environment (Kamberski, 1994, pp. 162–178). During these decades of socialist development the Institute of *Pädagogik* at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was the only higher education institution in Macedonia that continually provided four-year education courses to prepare qualified personnel in a range of pedagogical disciplines. The work done by these professionals contributed to all aspects of Macedonian socialist educational system and the social life and built a high reputation for the Institute.

After the socialist era, the teaching and research tradition of educational studies continued to be built in independent Macedonia. However, changes took place in degree structure and organization and in the duration of educational study. The driving force behind these reforms was external, coming mostly from government officials whose policy aim was to increase the quality of the education of pedagogists in the country and to improve the international recognition of their qualifications. In the quarter-century since independence in 1991, major achievements were made in terms of opening of Macedonian educational science to European and world experiences in the field of educational theory and practice. That was done through organization of international conferences in the country, participation of Macedonian scholars in international scientific projects, study visits abroad by Macedonian professors and students, visiting lectures by foreign professors, and collaboration with colleagues from universities in Europe and beyond. On a national level, academic offerings in the field of *Pädagogik* were intensified by establishing a new study programme of *Pädagogik* within the newly founded state university in Macedonia in 1994².

² Department of Professional *Pädagogik* at the Faculty of Philosophy in Tetovo provides first and second cycle of study of *Pädagogik* in Albanian language.

Since the beginning of the new millennium national educational policy was focused on creating conditions for unimpeded implementation of the principles and recommendations emanating from the Bologna process. These policy efforts sought to improve the quality of educational process and increase efficiency of studies, as well as to ensure competitiveness and compatibility within the European and global academic market (Nacionalna programa za razvoj na obrazovanieto vo Republika Makedonija 2005–2015, 2006, pp. 241–243). These priorities caused significant changes in *Pädagogik* as a field of study and raised numerous challenges for the future development of the studies and of higher education in the country more generally.

Development of the study of *Pädagogik*

The development over the past 70 years could be qualified as dynamic and intense, characterized by constant reforms and efforts to modernize studies in *Pädagogik* itself, and to adapt them to the needs of the changing society. This process had a number of dimensions.

Firstly, as regards the institutional context, the study of *Pädagogik* in free Macedonia begun to develop within the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, together with the study of philosophy in a single Chair of Philosophy and *Pädagogik* (1946–1949). Since 1949–1950, the study of *Pädagogik* had been developed as an independent organizational unit of the Faculty. But its name had changed over time: the original Chair of *Pädagogik* was renamed in the late 70s to the Teaching and Research Study Group of *Pädagogik* and ten years later it became the Institute of *Pädagogik*, the name that has remained through today (Kamberski, Korubin, 1996, p. 41). With the establishment of State University in Tetovo, a *Department of Professional Pädagogik* was created that has kept its name unchanged for the past decades.

Secondly, as regards the organization of study, courses began at the undergraduate level, as single-major system of study of four-years duration. Double-major system existed only during a short period of time (1959/1960–1961/1962), and a parallel single-major and double-major system was introduced in 1967/1968 and lasted for ten years. Since 1978/1979 educational studies have had an exclusively single-major character (Pregled na predavanjata za ucebnata 1959–1960, 1962–1963, 1967–1968, 1977–1978). In order to provide an organized and systematic training of researchers in the field of *Pädagogik*, in 1980/1981 two-year postgraduate studies in educational

sciences were introduced, and in 2004/2005 studies of same duration in management in education. In 2009, postgraduate studies in both areas were transformed into one-year studies of second cycle (Master degree). In 1992/1993 the Institute of *Pädagogik* at the Faculty of Philosophy initiated one-year postgraduate specialist studies leading to a professional title of a specialist-educator in a certain educational area.

In 1958, the first doctor of educational sciences had been awarded at the Faculty of Philosophy, and since 2013/2014, as a result of the implementation of the Bologna reform and the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), three-year doctoral studies were introduced.

Thirdly, during the 70 years of free national development, the study programme of *Pädagogik* and the programmes of different pedagogical courses had been often changed in accordance with the socio-economic and political changes in the country and the reform processes in the educational system. The first study programme of *Pädagogik* implemented in 1946/1947 consisted of 16 academic disciplines out of which 6 were from the educational area, while others were in the field of psychology, philosophy and general education (Kamberski, Korubin, 1996, p. 41). The latest programme of the Institute of *Pädagogik*, implemented since 2013/2014, consists of 40 courses, out of which only seven could be from non-educational areas, since they are chosen by students from the Faculty and University lists of elective courses (Priracnik za studenti..., 2013). Between the first and last programme there have been numerous quantitative and qualitative programme changes:

- Introduction of new academic disciplines: *Methodology of Pädagogik* and *Andragogy* in 1962/1963 (Pregled na predavanjata za ucebnata 1962/1963), *Methodology of educational work and Comparative Pedagogy* in 1977/1978 (Pregled na predavanjata za ucebnata 1977/78), *Family Education* and *School Pedagogy* in 1991/1992 (Nastaven plan i rezim na studii na Institutot za pedagogija, 1991), *Special Education* and *Social Pedagogy* in 1997/1998 (Priracnik za studentite na Filozofskiot fakultet, 1997, p.19).
- Introduction of elective groups of pedagogical disciplines and elective courses (1977/1978) (Pregled na predavanjata za ucebnata 1977/1978, 1982/1983). This concept of the curriculum was refined and expanded in the following decades, with introduction of optional programme areas (Priracnik za studentite na Filozofskiot fakultet, 1997, pp. 19–23), and since 2009 with several groups of electives (preschool, school, andragogical and socio-pedagogical) (Priracnik za studenti 2009/2010).
- Establishment of two new 4-year undergraduate studies: *Defectology* in

1993/1994, today renamed in *Studies of special education and rehabilitation*, and studies of *Adragogy* in 2017/2018.

- A significant increase in the number of courses in the study programme. The implementation of the Bologna reform and the ECTS in the higher education in Macedonia replaced the traditional disciplinary approach with a modular one, which resulted in breaking up the extensive two or three-semester subjects in one-semester courses.
- Changes in the language of *Pädagogik* and education. The theory of socialist education whose Marxist ideological matrix was built into the system of pedagogical disciplines, in recent decades has been giving place to the processes of globalization and marketization of education.

All these changes in the study programmes were reflected in the training of generations of students of *Pädagogik*, whose numbers were constantly increasing. These students belong not only to the home departments of *Pädagogik*, but also to other institutes of the Faculty of Philosophy, to other faculties of the universities in Skopje and Tetovo, as well as from other universities in the country. Moreover, in a period of almost 40 years, since 1977/1978, the study of *Pädagogik* was included as pedagogical and methodological training for the graduates from the so called non-teaching faculties in Macedonia in all scientific areas (Pregled na predavanjata za ucebnata 1977/1978). Until recent years this training has been organized as a programme with several courses and a prescribed number of hours of teaching practice. Starting from the academic year 2014/2015 the two departments of *Pädagogik* at the Faculties of Philosophy in Skopje and Tetovo, along with three faculties of education in the country, introduced one semester studies (30 ECTS) for specialized professional training for acquiring teaching competences (Pravilnik za naciot i uslovite za studiranje na studiskata programa za steknuvanje na pedagogsko-psiholoska i metodska podgotovka..., 2014). The programme consists of three compulsory subjects (*Pädagogik*, psychology and teaching methodology), two electives and 45-day educational practice in primary or secondary schools (Studiska programa za strucno profesionalno usovrsuvanje...).

Educational research

During the first decade after the end of the Second World War, educational science in Macedonia, as well as in the entire Yugoslav federation at that time, was insufficiently developed because of a lack of "research institutions or special personnel who would perform such activity in the field

of education” (Potkonjak, 1977, p. 183). Exceptions were the chairs of *Pädagogik* at the Faculties of Philosophy, but in these, too, no conditions for the development of educational science were created (ibid.). At the Chair of *Pädagogik* at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje up to the beginning of the 1960s, the curriculum of pedagogical disciplines was covered only by one or two teachers and the same number of assistants (Temkov et al., 2006, p. 97). Keeping in mind that before the liberation of Macedonia and the foundation of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, there was a very modest scientific research tradition in the field of education (ibid., p. 98), we can say that in this earliest post-war period in Macedonia there were almost no institutions and qualified personnel that could do more serious scientific research work. Nor were there opportunities and conditions for its more intensive development, for the pedagogists were mainly engaged in solving basic problems of a practical nature (expanding the school network, qualifying the teaching staff for primary and secondary schools, developing teaching plans, programmes and textbooks, etc.). That was why the editorial board of the first and most significant Macedonian journal for education, *Prosvetno delo*, on the occasion of its anniversary in 1955, provided its estimate that “[...] we still do not have enough organized and systematized scientific research work, the basis for the solid generalization of the new things looming in our educational practice has not been established yet” (*Deset godini na spisanieto “Prosvetno delo”, 1955, p. 340*).

In this situation, a solution was being found in the Soviet educational and Marxist philosophic theory and in the programme of the Communist Party and other party documents (Angeloska-Galevska, 1998, p. 91). In striving to liberate the educational and educational process from the recidivism of the “civil school” and from “bourgeois ideology”, Macedonian pedagogical workers turned to Soviet pedagogy, which was perceived as the only science about socialist education (ibid., p. 92). It was the source in which the researchers in the entire Yugoslav community sought and found directions for the development of a methodology for educational research. As it is confirmed by one of the leading Yugoslav researchers in the field of *Pädagogik* in a symposium in the 1960s “from the liberation up to about 1952 ... the work of pedagogists related to methodology was limited to translations of chapters dedicated to educational methodology in certain Soviet pedagogical textbooks” (Mužić, 1963, p. 354). In Macedonia, even after the conflict between the official Yugoslav party and the Soviet Communist Information Bureau in 1948, this inclination toward Soviet pedagogy remained unchanged. As an example, there is an argument about this in the Law for the University in Skopje from 1949:

[...] this highest educational institution in NRM (the People's Republic of Macedonia) needs to cooperate in scientific work and exchange scientific experiences, scientific papers and publications with the other universities in FNRJ (the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia) and with foreign universities, first of all with the universities in the USSR and the other countries of the people's democracy (Zakon za univerzitetot vo Skopje, 1949, art. 2).

The development of *Pädagogik* during this early after-war period is characterized by apologetics and the absence of critical approaches, for its tasks were theoretically and methodologically taken from stances of party and government bodies, as contained in certain documents (programmes, resolutions, etc.) (Angeloska-Galevska, 1998, pp. 94–95).

The situation gradually started changing at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s when it came to a "partial sobering from the influence of Soviet pedagogy and an acceptance of the methodological legacy of the empirical-inductive "bourgeois methodology of pedagogy" (Potkonjak, 1977, p. 185). In the next few decades, a positive trend in the development of educational research in Macedonia occurred. This is reflected in the fact that educational policy makers started seeking research sources for the practical realization of school reform and that the *Pädagogik*, though still timidly, put itself in the function of promoting educational work. Closely related to this is the rapid development of the methodology of educational research, "especially of its research techniques and instruments", so that "the weaknesses emanating from so-called deductive and normative *Pädagogik* would be overcome" (Koprovski, 1985, p. 2). At the same time, the number of scientists and scientific works in the field of *Pädagogik* increased. A special contribution to this was provided by the Chair of *Pädagogik*" at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, which widened and deepened its scientific research work: the number of teachers with degree-level qualifications increased; by the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s the first doctoral dissertations in the field of educational sciences were defended at the Faculty of Philosophy; starting in 1980/1981, post-graduate studies of *Pädagogik* were established; the first master's thesis was defended in 1983, and by 2016, 168 candidates acquired the title of Master of Educational Sciences, and 78 candidates acquired the doctorate³; the participation of research workers from Macedonia intensified in national and international scientific meetings and conferences; and

³ The data on the number of master's and doctoral theses were taken from the internal records of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje.

the number of expert and scientific papers published in Macedonian and foreign journals increased (Temkov et al., 2006, p. 96–99). All these activities contributed to the development of educational sciences in Macedonia, as well as to improving the work in its educational institutions.

Prospects

The prospects of *Pädagogik* in Macedonia need to be considered within the international frame of global trends in higher education that are politically and economically defined. During the last 20 years the role of the universities has been significantly changed and they have been transformed into powerful consumer-oriented corporate networks, where ‘key performance indicators’ direct attention to measured outputs rather than to processes and inputs within education (Lynch, 2010). This marketization of the university education is evident in Macedonia, as elsewhere. Instead of public interest values, mechanisms of control and regulation of university productivity have been promoted; instead of focussing on the process of formation of student’s personality based on nurturing relatedness, monitoring and measuring of student’s performances are emphasized, thus reinforcing the pursuit of economic self-interest by students and contributing to the widespread sense among them that they are in college solely to gain career skills and credentials (Harkavy, 2006, p. 14).

Regarding the study of *Pädagogik* in Macedonia, two issues that reflect the processes of globalization and marketization of education are particularly important for its future development: reconsideration of the implementation of the Bologna reform in higher education and (re)defining of the language of *Pädagogik* and education.

Bologna revisited

Since gaining independence, the Republic of Macedonia has enthusiastically embraced the Western educational legacy and trends, with the aim to make its educational system compatible and competitive with those of more developed countries in Europe and the wider world. Consequently, numerous reform activities in the school system at all levels were undertaken, mostly “borrowed” from other countries. However, importing foreign experiences in Macedonian education during the past three decades has brought many challenges regarding the authentic understanding of these reforms and their compatibility with the inherited educational con-

cepts and circumstances. Bologna reform is one of those systemic reforms in Macedonian higher education that was implemented in a way that created many risks for the quality of educational studies. Analysis of the study programmes of *Pädagogik* and the current situation regarding students' teaching and learning at the institutes of *Pädagogik* reveals the following:

- The ECTS was implemented more as a mechanical approach for transforming the number of class hours into credit points than as a comprehensive calculation of student workload.
- Individualized approaches in teaching and learning that were promoted by the Bologna reform simply couldn't be implemented in Macedonian university classrooms in which a limited number of professor's work with a large number of students. Not being founded on a continuing monitoring of students' progress, the Bologna system of credit points was/is only formally implemented. In reality it has stimulated the use of copy-and-paste practices in the writing students' essays and assignments.
- Modularization of programmes has transformed year-long courses in recognized academic disciplines into short one-semester practically oriented courses, in which the comprehensive material has been reduced to a limited number of lessons, the knowledge of which is usually checked using knowledge-based tests.
- Students learn predominantly to be able to pass tests or exams; their interest in further enquiry, in individual research, or in critical and autonomous thinking, is very rare. "Learn as little as possible" seems to be a guideline in students' choice of elective courses, which is based on information they frequently get from previous generations regarding the volume of material and the ease of passing the exam.
- Students learn mostly from textbooks, guidebooks and materials written or prepared by the professors who lead the courses⁴. During the last few years, the amount of this kind of literature has increased, but quantity prevails over quality.
- Since the implementation of Bologna reform in 2004/2005, the study programme of *Pädagogik* have had four revisions accomplished through continuous law changes. However, instead of improvements, there is an agreement among teaching staff that the quality of educa-

4 A research study conducted in 2010 regarding the opinions of 240 students from three teacher education institutions in Macedonia about the organization of teaching process shows that students mostly learn from handbooks or textbooks written by the professor of the course, while the use of other authors' books, especially foreign language literature, is minimal (Miovska-Spaseva, Bocvarova, 2011, pp.14–15).

tion and university studies in general, as well as the entrance and exit competencies of graduates, has decreased. The changes just brought an additional confusion in the organization of the process of teaching and in performing the administrative work.

The Republic of Macedonia committed itself to reforming higher education in line with the goals envisaged in the Bologna process. But its implementation is an example of how a “top down” reform does not meet the present situation within the universities bringing only superficial changes as distinct from essential improvements. Any structural change of education must take into account the dynamics of an integral approach, where the interventions in different segments will be interrelated and coordinated. In identifying educational priorities it is very important to know and follow the general trends, but also to make an in-depth analysis of the current situation in the country in question, its economic potential, infrastructure, human resource capacities and educational traditions. Only on this basis is it possible to avoid rushed, partial and inefficient changes and an associated mismatch between education policies and their implementation.

The language of *Pädagogik* and education

In recent years, there has been a growing tendency in the Macedonian academic community to replace the term *Pädagogik* with the term education or educational sciences for the study to be more recognizable in the world educational scene⁵. If this change indicates a transition from one science to many sciences that explore the field of education, one would expect a greater variety of educational sciences in the curriculum. However, if we compare the study programmes of the Institute of *Pädagogik* from the 1970s or 1980s of the 20th century with current programmes, we will see that philosophy, psychology and sociology were more studied in the past than they are today. In fact, in the previous programmes there were several mandatory courses from these areas (general psychology, children and youth psychology, educational psychology, philosophy, logic, sociology (Pregled na predavanjata za ucebnata 1977–1978, 1978–1979, 1982–1983), while today only a few of them remain elective. In the Institute’s first study

⁵ Recently, one of the higher education institutions in the country that prepares classroom and preschool teachers changed its name from Faculty of Education to Faculty of Educational Sciences. Since 2011, one of the faculties of Education has offered doctoral studies in *educational sciences* instead of *Pädagogik*.

programme (1946/1947), 10 out of 16 compulsory courses were from the fields of philosophy, psychology and general education (Kamberski, Korubin, 1996, p. 40), while in the latest programme only 7 elective courses out of 40 could be from other, non-educational areas (Studiska programa po pedagogija za prv ciklus na studii). So, the question that arises is whether the plurality that is expressed in the name educational studies corresponds with the plural character of the field of education or if it reflects, only on a formal level, the tendency to get closer to the Anglo-Saxon educational tradition where *Pädagogik* as an integral science of education did not, and does not exist, but there is a field of education in which different sciences have one foot in (philosophy of education, sociology of education, psychology of education, economy of education, history of education, etc.).

On the other hand, the processes of globalization have brought an infiltration of English terminology into the Macedonian language of education: *mission and vision* have replaced the traditional *goals and tasks*; *curriculum* has replaced *study programme*, *assessment* has become literally translated as *formative and summative assessment* ("formativno i sumativno ocenivanje"). The strategic documents for the development of education in Macedonia, as well as the study programmes and textbooks are overloaded with *standards* ("standardi"), *competences* ("kompetencii"), *indicators* ("indikatori"), *descriptors* ("deskriptori"), *modules* ("moduli"), *items* ("ajtemi"). This increased hybridization and nativization of the English terminology reflects also the free-market economy approach in education that has been advocated in Macedonia since the 90s. It promotes a competitive society and competitiveness in education with its global language: achievements, performances, accountability, efficiency measured through the correlation between inputs and outputs, effectiveness of the results, etc. Accomplishments that are expressed in grades, numbers and statistics are certainly an indicator of success and development, of achievements that allow comparisons with other faculties in the country, in the countries in the region, in Europe and in the world. However, should these external parameters of success be priorities in creating the educational profile of future pedagogists in a country? As educators, those who seek to master the skill and/or understand the art of education, we must not forget, especially nowadays in times of moral decline and lost values, that *Pädagogik* is not only a matter of "effectiveness" of teaching and learning. Nor is it about identifying predicted "outcomes" to be measured by "performance management" instruments; or about the competitive production of human capital. Such priorities are the current enthusiasms of neoliberal policy-makers of the West and North. *Pädagogik* originally and essentially brings

a deep human message: education is giving development assistance, providing support in striving toward humanity. It is about empowering people, and the building of understandings, social cohesions and identities. Hence, in creating the educational language and tracing the future path of development of the educational science in Macedonia, as well in the wider context, the pedagogists must bear in mind the quality of the relationships with those with whom they accomplish the educational venture. Focusing on the achievements of students and teachers, as an indicator of effectiveness of the educational process and of ensuring competitiveness and compatibility with the European and world educational market, they must not allow themselves to lose the essence of their educational work: creating a healthy, safe, caring and stimulating community that will intrinsically motivate children, young people and adults to learn and to develop their individual potentials and strengths through communication and cooperation.

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2.3.2 *Pädagogik* in Slovenia before and after the Breakup of the Former Yugoslavia

Edvard Protner and Tadej Vidmar

The Republic of Slovenia exited the Yugoslavian federation and gained independence after a plebiscite in November 1990. The proclamation of independence (June 25, 1991) was followed by armed conflict (war of independence) with the Yugoslav military, which fortunately ended after ten days. The process of gaining independence in Slovenia was immeasurably less violent than in other parts of the former common country. Slovenia became a member of the United Nations Organization on May 22, 1992 and has been a member of the European Union since 2004.

Substantially longer than the history of the Slovenian state is the history of Slovenian nation. In the period from the settlement of the Slavs on the territory of present-day Slovenia in the 6th century until today, Slovenians have lived in different states and political orders that changed with the centuries. But all the while, the Slovenian language remained an essential element in the preservation of the national identity. Of great importance as well were the Reformation and Primož Trubar (1508–1586), a leader of the Lutheran movement in Slovenia who published the first books in the Slovenian language (*Catechismus* and *Abecedarium*, 1550); he is also considered the “father” of the elementary school in Slovenia, as he, in his *Church Ordinance* (*Cerkovna ordninga*, 1564), outlined the organization of education in the Slovenian language (Schmidt, 1952; Vidmar, 2008).

In the time of the Reformation, religious, cultural, and economic lives of the Slovenians were already integrated into the administrative structures of the Habsburg Monarchy, of which an essential part was also the Slovenian territory. It remained so until 1918, when Austria-Hungary ceased to exist. A more intensive strive for political autonomy began after the revolutionary year 1848, and some other important achievements were that Slovenian won recognition as a parliamentary language. Moreover, professional terminology achieved a sufficient level to enable the production of scientific literature in the Slovenian language. For the turn of the 19th century, greater efforts toward improving the position of the Slovenian language in schools on the Slovenian ethnic territory and resistance to Germanization were also characteristic, as well as the massification of pedagogical professional creativity in the Slovenian language (Protner, 2015a).

***Pädagogik* in Slovenia until World War I**

The majority of the territory of modern-day Slovenia was until 1918 a part of Austria-Hungary, so Austrian school legislation was in effect. With the first Austrian school law in 1774, the first educational program for teacher training was also established. *General School Ordinance*, as the law was named, prescribed the education of teachers in *normal schools*, i.e., schools that represented the norm, and an example, how to teach. Here, future teachers would be acquainted with pedagogical subjects, especially a "new teaching method," as well as observe lessons and train in teachers' work. In Ljubljana, the capital of Carniola, a normal school was established in 1775. The first headmaster, Blaž Kumerdej, had considerable problems with the predominantly German governmental structures, particularly in training teachers in the Slovenian language (Protner, 2015a). During this time, the first translations from German of a pedagogical text into the Slovenian language were made (of Felbiger's abstract of his *Book of Methods*, titled *Core of the Book of Methods*), which would not only be the first pedagogical book in the Slovenian language, but also the first attempt to use Slovenian as the language of science (Schmidt, 1963, p. 215).

The first pedagogical contents in the education of primary teachers appeared even before *Pädagogik* as a science was established in universities and other higher education institutions. The German-Austrian scholar W. Brezinka (2016, p. 16) is correct in saying that we can only understand the development of *Pädagogik* as a subject of study if we analyze it in parallel with the development of the school system and of teacher education for different school types and levels. He also thinks we can search for the roots of *Pädagogik* as a subject in the education of primary teachers and of theologians as teachers of Religion and as school inspectors, as well as in the education of private teachers (*ibid.*) and the education of gymnasium professors.

Soon after the proclamation of the first primary school law, courses and contents in pedagogical education began to differentiate. The *General School Ordinance* (1774) required all clerics who wanted to teach Religion and inspect schools to have certified appropriate knowledge from the catechist of a normal school, and a certificate of appropriate knowledge was required of candidates for private posts too. Simultaneously, pedagogical contents began to appear within faculties of theology in the lessons of Catechetics. It was obvious that teacher training courses at normal schools could not satisfy needs of future gymnasium professors for *Pädagogik*

(Schmidt, 1960), which in a way influenced the idea of *Pädagogik* to become a subject in tertiary-level education. Brezinka (2016, p. 20) established, “Austria was the first country in the world that after 1805 set up chairs for *educational lore* at all its universities and philosophical institutes,” and this is also valid for Slovenia as a part of the Austrian Empire.

Though the first university in Slovenia was not established until 1919, higher education there has a longer history. It was connected with the schoolwork of the Jesuits, whose *studia superiora* can be categorized in the tertiary level of education. In the 17th and above all the 18th centuries, the name *licej* (lyceum) began to gain recognition (Zwitter, 1969). *Pädagogik* had been taught since 1815 as a part of philosophic and theological courses in the *licej* (Ciperle, 2001; Schmidt, 1960). Future priests had obtained knowledge of the techniques and theories of teaching religion within Catechetics, but with the first Austrian primary school law (1774), they were also appointed as local school inspectors and had to familiarize themselves with primary school pedagogy (methods of teaching) and with the rights and duties of teachers, the organization of the school system, etc. (Schmidt, 1960, p. 9).

Pädagogik played a different role in faculties, and it was introduced with the new curriculum for philosophic studies in 1805; it was classified as a recommendable, but not compulsory subject for clergy and private teachers (Schmidt, 1960, p. 10). A decree from 1808 extended the obligation to absolve lessons in *Pädagogik* at universities to candidates for gymnasium and philosophic studies professors (ibid.) in a decision to associate *Pädagogik* at the university level with the needs of the clergy (as teachers of religion and school inspectors), gymnasium professors, and private teachers.

After the abolition of lyceums in Ljubljana and Celovec (Klagenfurt) in the years 1848 to 1850, philosophic study involved the reorganization of a part of the gymnasium program in the 7th and 8th class. This caused secondary-level *Pädagogik* in Ljubljana to be preserved until 1865; as a tertiary-level subject it existed only as a part of study of Theology until the establishment of a university in Ljubljana in 1919 (Schmidt, 1960, p. 39–40).

It is not difficult to reconstruct the contents of lectures in *Pädagogik*. The Austrian government had been looking for an appropriate textbook on this subject since the *Syllabus for Philosophic Studies* was approved in 1805. According to Brezinka, they had luck in that the Chair of *Pädagogik* at the University of Vienna had been held since 1806 by Vinzenz Eduard Milde, and his *Textbook of General Educational Lore [Erziehungskunde] for Use in Public Lectures* in two volumes, was in the period 1814–1849 the man-

datory study literature for all chairs of *Pädagogik* (Brezinka, 2016, p. 22; Schmidt, 1964, p. 296). This textbook and its abbreviated version from 1821 (Brezinka 2000, p. 237) were theoretically and intellectually much more demanding than various books of methods which were used in preparatory courses in the education of primary school teachers.

With the proclamation of the *State Primary School Law* in 1869, entirely new relations were formed between *Pädagogik* at the university level and *Pädagogik* in the education of teachers. New legislation transferred the education of teachers to four-year teacher education institutions, where the core professional subject was *Educational and Instructional Theory, their History and Auxiliary Sciences*.

A milestone in the constitution of Slovenian pedagogical thought came when the necessity to write a *Pädagogik* textbook in the Slovenian language arose. In the first years after the implementation of the new organization of teacher training, old *Pädagogik* textbooks were still in use and they were not adapted to the higher demands of the new lesson plans in teacher training colleges. These textbooks were in the German language, because *Pädagogik* and Didactics were taught in teacher training schools in German only. The situation changed, at least regarding the language on qualification exams for the teaching profession in 1886, when the qualifications exam for public and bourgeois schools could be (partially) taken in the Slovenian language. This encouraged Fran Gabršek (1856–1937) to translate Josef Mich's book titled *Pädagogik*, into Slovenian in 1887, as well as his *Didactics* the following year (Protner, 2015a). After the translation of the *Core of the Book of Methods* in 1777, these were the first textbooks on *Pädagogik* for teachers in the Slovenian language.

Simultaneously, two more textbooks of *Pädagogik* were published. We have already mentioned that after the reorganization of philosophic study in 1848, *Pädagogik* remained within tertiary education only in the study of Theology. There it was a side subject; it did not attract much professional attention for a long time. Until 1849, lectures on General *Pädagogik* were mainly based on Milde's ideas and writings, and for the methods of teaching, the same textbooks were used as in the education of teachers at normal schools. For the textbook *Pädagogik*, which was written by Anton Zupančič (1888) in accordance with Milde and which could be understood as the first tertiary-level textbook of *Pädagogik* in Slovenia, should be clearly stated that it did not surpass similar contemporaneous textbooks for teacher education institutions, and that it was not even its purpose. In his foreword, the author explained that Ljubljana "has close to twenty years of pedagogical teaching in Slovenian language, but so far, we have not had a domestic

book of this kind” (ibid.). He also emphasized that the same textbook was used in the study of Theology as in the teacher education institutions, but “we felt an urgent need for the *Pädagogik* in Slovenian language, written in the spirit of Catholicism, since the school and the textbooks as well are no longer religious, and Catholic priests could not use and were not allowed to use this kind of teaching material” (ibid.). We can conclude that the first non-translated *Pädagogik* textbook in the Slovenian language was written mainly because of religious reasons.

In the turn of the 19th century, a certain theoretical pluralism could be identified in the theory of *Pädagogik* in Slovenia, which was also shown by the increased number of textbooks of *Pädagogik* (Protner, 2015a, p. 620).

The discussed textbooks put more efforts toward establishing pedagogical thought into the Slovenian language than into theoretical originality and the shaping of pedagogical thought, which was supposed to follow national logic and local circumstances. Although textbooks were mainly written based on at that time a predominantly Herbartian doctrine of *Pädagogik*, the theoretical background remained largely non-reflective and showed the state of theoretic underdevelopment of the subject in Slovenia. The largest range of theoretic thought was linked to the discussion about the consistency or inconsistency of religious doctrine (Protner, 2015a, pp. 620–621).

Toward the fall of Austria-Hungary in 1918, *Pädagogik* in Slovenia as an academic discipline existed only within the Faculty of Theology, but at the same time, its theoretical levels were the same as in teacher education institutions. Slovenian theorists of *Pädagogik* were acquainted with the (Herbartian) academic theory, which was developed at foreign universities, and Slovenian teachers creatively implemented this knowledge into school praxis. Everything changed in entirely new political and social context after World War I – disintegration of Austria-Hungary and formation of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918. As *Pädagogik* appeared at the newly established University of Ljubljana as university discipline, it was already following basically different paradigm, the *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*.

***Pädagogik* at the university in Slovenia between both World Wars**

When the University of Ljubljana was established in 1919, one of the first chairs on the Faculty of Arts was the Chair of *Pädagogik* (*Katedra za pedagogiko*).

Until 1925, the organization of study in the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana was shaped firstly by practices at Austrian universities, but also by practices at the University of Belgrade. Courses were structured as two-subject study in the form of major and minor subjects, and the faculty was educating primarily future gymnasium teachers. After the fifth semester, each student had to pass an exam in Philosophy and *Pädagogik* as well as in the language of instruction. *Pädagogik* could also be studied as a major diploma subject and as a doctoral subject. Doctoral exam students had to complete eight semesters of study, of which at least six semesters had to include courses on the main subject of the doctoral exam (Vidmar, 2016). Since the beginning of the study of *Pädagogik* as a doctoral subject until 1945, 13 doctors of philosophy with *Pädagogik* as a main subject were conferred (Pavlič, 1980).

The first professor of *Pädagogik* on the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana was Dr. Karel Ozvald, who remained in this position until 1945 (Vidmar, 2016). With him, *Pädagogik* in Slovenia was elevated to the level of an independent academic science for the first time; Ozvald leaned his concept on the theoretic conceptualization of the *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* (i.e. oriented toward humanities and social sciences rather than empirical sciences), the paradigm that was predominant at German universities between both World Wars (Protner, 2000; Vidmar, 2016).

Since the beginning, Ozvald held a relatively autonomous position on the faculty and amid the disciplines that were studied there. The titles of some of his lectures after 1920 show the intertwining of pedagogical, philosophical, psychological, and sociological themes (Vidmar, 2016). In the winter semester 1923/24, Ozvald began to introduce *geisteswissenschaftliche* or cultural *Pädagogik* – the result of his research on this area was the book *Cultural Pädagogik* (Ozvald, 1927), which could be seen as the first Slovenian original higher education scientific book in the field of *Pädagogik*.

In the summer semester 1930, Dr. Stanko Gogala, who was also a representative of *geisteswissenschaftliche* or cultural *Pädagogik* par excellence, joined Ozvald as a part-time associate and leader of the practical Pedagogical Seminar. He also included the didactics of gymnasium teaching in the program of the Chair of *Pädagogik* (Vidmar, 2009a, p. 20).

In the period between both World Wars, the study of *Pädagogik* was significantly diverse. Besides general findings of the science of *Pädagogik*, an important area was also the history. As already mentioned, Ozvald and Gogala lectured on some "border disciplines," which were then understood as the auxiliary disciplines of *Pädagogik*: psychology (pedagogical, child

and youth, individual), characterology, psychoanalysis, the sociology of children and youth, and the philosophy of *Pädagogik*.

Although Ozvald and Gogala disagreed on some points of *Pädagogik* (Protner, 2015b), they were the representatives of *geisteswissenschaftliche* or cultural *Pädagogik* and were several times together involved in polemics with some teachers and representatives of other educational movements and world-view orientations (Vidmar, 2009a). A notable conflict occurred in 1928 between a “new” and an “old” school outlook. In an article, Ozvald criticized the reform efforts of some primary school teachers in a sense of work-school (*Arbeitschule*) as a pedagogical diletantism, or even demagoguery. In response, Anton Osterc, a primary school teacher, accused him of holding an arrogant attitude as an academic and defended particular ideas of the Reform-*Pädagogik*, which were then popular among teacher-practitioners. Differences were even more evident in relation to the existing school (i.e., which used Herbartian methods of instruction), of which Ozvald, who was fully supported by Gogala, despite many reservations, acknowledged some positive characteristics. On the other hand, Osterc radically rejected it completely in the spirit of the *Pädagogik* “from the child,” i.e., from the entirely pedocentric viewpoint (Protner, 2000, 2015b).

Very evident was also dissent of both representatives of the *geisteswissenschaftliche* or cultural *Pädagogik* with Marxist-oriented teachers. Though Ozvald acknowledged some of their socio-critical views and (surprisingly) even assisted in the preparation of a survey questionnaires for empirical research on the influence of social conditions on the psychophysical development of children, Gogala distanced himself from the ideas of the Marxist-oriented teachers with a warning that the collecting of sociological data should originate from an educational cultural objective and educational will. In this sense, he was rejecting the Marxist thesis that only changed social circumstances are conditions for effective education (ibid.).

Gogala was an engaged Catholic intellectual and a member of a prominent Catholic professional journal, where he published texts about religious education and texts critical of Marxism. Regardless, in defending *Pädagogik* as an autonomous science, he involved himself in the polemic with Aleš Ušeničnik, a leading Catholic authority of that time (ibid.).

In addition to *Pädagogik* as a university discipline in the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, it was still present as a subject in the Faculty of Theology in Ljubljana, although without ambitions to exceed the doctrinal orientation of the Catholic Church. In 1918, *Principles of Pädagogik* by Fran Ušeničnik (1918) replaced the textbook of Zupančič (1888); the latter was used by the Faculty of Theology until 1945.

Valuable pedagogical thought was also developed in teacher education institutions, but differences were evident between the priorities of the culturally oriented *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*, which was directed primarily at gymnasium teachers and was developed by Ozvald and Gogala at university, and above all practically oriented needs of primary school teachers.

The World War II period and after

In 1941, Slovenia was occupied and divided by Italy, Germany, and Hungary. Ljubljana became part of the Italian Fascist state. In that period, the University of Ljubljana continued its work. In 1942, cultural silence was proclaimed by the Liberation Front of the Slovene Nation (i.e., anti-fascist resistance organization), which demanded the boycott of cooperation between Slovenian artists, publicists, and scientists and fascist authorities in the broader cultural arena, which included the University of Ljubljana, but the university itself was – due to the nature of its work and mission – a kind of exception (Godeša, 1994, p. 15). Ozvald and Gogala continued with lectures during Italian occupation, as well (Vidmar, 2016).

After the capitulation of Italy in September 1943, Ljubljana was occupied by Nazi Germany, and Leon Rupnik, the leader of a puppet provincial government, following a decree dated November 11, 1943 terminated all lectures at the University of Ljubljana until further notice (Vidmar, 2016). The university remained closed until autumn 1945.

The University of Ljubljana began its work again in the winter semester 1945/46. The study of *Pädagogik* was reestablished, but this time on new and different ideological and political fundamentals, with the implementation of the socialist social order under the political monopoly of the Communist Party. Although there should be a necessary differentiation between school politics and *Pädagogik* as a science in an analysis of the after-war development of Slovenian *Pädagogik* (Medveš, 2016, p. 15), the main representatives of educational theory in the first years after World War II confessed later that "it was about translating political directives into language of *Pädagogik*" (Schmidt, 1982, p. 8), as well as about the uncritical leaning on the Soviet *Pädagogik* (ibid., p. 13). Under these new circumstances, the prewar "bourgeois" *Pädagogik* was no longer acceptable. Ozvald was in 1945 prematurely retired, probably because he was unfit for new authorities (Vidmar, 2002, p. 37). It is thus more surprising that since 1945, Gogala could continue the work at the university. It is true that as a representa-

tive of Christian Socialists he participated in the anti-fascist resistance movement and gained some respect among the postwar authorities, but examples of like-minded intellectuals exist who were prohibited in the postwar period from working publicly and expressing their opinions (Protner, 2015a). In the postwar period Gogala occupied himself primarily with topics and fields that were not politically potent, so this may be why he enjoyed comparative freedom, but why he was also reproached for (Vidmar, 2016).

In the winter semester 1947/48, Dr. Vladimir Schmidt began to lecture on *Pädagogik* as a part-time associate in the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana; he was previously a professor at the newly founded higher teacher education institution in Ljubljana. He became the leading theorist of *Pädagogik* in postwar Slovenia and one of the most prominent figures in socialist Yugoslavia. Based on Marxist ideology, he at first theoretically grounded the subjugation of educational aims in political purposes, but in the 1960s, along with winning recognition for empirical research, he and his colleagues in the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana engaged themselves in controversies with school and political authorities.

In this context, the fate of *Pädagogik* in the Faculty of Theology in Ljubljana is also interesting, with work continuing until 1949, when it was excluded from the university. In May 1945, a group of students and professors who were during the war politically closer to the occupying forces took refuge in northern Italy. Already in June 1945, a refugee study institution with the status of faculty and the right to issue academic grades was formed, which enabled the continuation of interrupted study for its students. In February 1947, the institution moved to Argentina and preserved its status of faculty until 1959. A typescript of a textbook for *Pädagogik* has been preserved, which was written by Ivan Ahčin (1945–1947); it is a relatively original and philosophically considered work, which is on the other hand in complete accordance with the doctrine of the Catholic Church. In this sense, this textbook represents an ideological alternative to Schmidt's higher education textbook of *Pädagogik* from that period, but it was unpublishable in the Slovenian territory in that time (Protner, 2003).

Faster development of the school system, reform processes, and growing needs for pedagogical cadres strongly influenced the structure of the study of *Pädagogik*. From the 1950s, *Pädagogik* began to divide and differentiate into different sub-disciplines and similar disciplines. At the same time, Psychology began to differentiate from *Pädagogik*, and in the winter semester 1950/51, the independent study of Psychology began in the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana (Vidmar, 2016).

We already mentioned that in the first years after World War II, the

authorities understood *Pädagogik* primarily as a tool for translating political and ideological statements into prescriptive materials for educational practice (Schmidt, 1985, p. 267). Ideology and educational politics tended to reduce *Pädagogik* to immediate, daily social tasks and directed its development to solving these tasks, while neglecting the basic problems, both theoretical and practical, that any adequate educational research should address (Bergant, 1994; Schmidt, 1958, 1985). At the end of the 1950s, we can identify gradual efforts toward a greater professional autonomy for *Pädagogik* (Vidmar, 2009b; Medveš, 2015). Above all, because of the efforts of professors of the Department of *Pädagogik* in the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, *Pädagogik* slowly emerged from its bondage to Communist ideology. It began to engage with pressing educational problems, including empirical investigations of such problems" (Bergant, 1994; Schmidt, 1969, p. 214). However, *Pädagogik* remained in different processes of school reforms, inadequately considered, and even ignored by political authorities.

In the 1960s, in the Department of *Pädagogik* in the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, the intention was to develop a methodology of empirical educational research that enabled the critical empirical evaluation of the reform efforts of school authorities. Members of the Department critically warned with a series of articles of the imperfection of the politically planned reform of primary, and afterwards of secondary education, which reached a peak of extensive reform of secondary education at the end of the 1970s.

In the 1970s, the Department of *Pädagogik* and Slovenian *Pädagogik* in general began to reorient attention to the organization of education and school counselling. By the end of the 1970s, the study program of *Pädagogik* became more praxis-oriented, and it was divided into three study courses: School *Pädagogik*, "Boarding Home *Pädagogik*" (orig. *domska pedagogika*), and Andragogy (adult education). In the first two years, study was united; in the third and fourth years, part of the program was common and part was specific according to study course.

In the 1970s and especially in the 1980s, the fast development of the theory and praxis of adult education, as well as of the theory of permanent education was to the fore. In the 1980s, *Pädagogik* was a major or minor subject study with several study courses, with Andragogy among them. In that period, intensive considerations about the independent study of andragogy or adult education were taking place, above all, discussions about the introduction of a one-subject study of *Pädagogik* beside existing two-subject study. There was dilemma regarding how to conceptualize the independent study of andragogy or adult education. At the end of 1991, after many discussions, a proposition for the independent study of andra-

gogy was prepared and in 1992/93, it was introduced. In 1996, after longer debates and discussions, the Department of *Pädagogik* was renamed the Department of *Pädagogik* and Andragogy (i.e., adult education) in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Ljubljana, emphasizing the separation and equivalence of both independent study programs.

In the 1980s, one of the study courses of the study program of *Pädagogik* was also Boarding Home *Pädagogik* (orig. *domska pedagogika*) At the end of this decade, discussions were held about the reasonability and prospects of the Boarding Home Educator Program in the Department of *Pädagogik*, when it was decided that the Department would discontinue this program and leave it to the Faculty of Education in Ljubljana. This decision had far-reaching consequences, because the study program of *Pädagogik* was impoverished of social-pedagogical contents, and the professional profile of the graduate of *Pädagogik* was reduced. On the other hand, in the study program of Social *Pädagogik*, which was for the first time introduced in 1991 by the Faculty of Education of the University of Ljubljana, psychological and medical discourse prevailed against educational discourse (Vidmar, 2009b).

In 2004, the Department of *Pädagogik* and Andragogy in Faculty of Arts of University of Ljubljana began with reforming its study programs according to the guidelines of the Bologna process. At the end of 2006, a decision was made that the study program of *Pädagogik* and Andragogy during the first Bologna cycle would be unified and during the second cycle divided into two programs, i.e., *Pädagogik* and Andragogy. To follow the process of accreditation, three programs were prepared: a three-year first cycle program of *Pädagogik* and Andragogy, and two two-year second cycle programs: *Pädagogik* and Andragogy. In 2008, the third cycle doctoral study program was reformed and designed according to the demands of the Bologna process; for accreditation, two separate doctoral programs were prepared: *Pädagogik* and Andragogy.

Conclusion

We analyzed the timeline of the development of *Pädagogik* as an academic discipline, which shows it has a long tradition in Slovenia. Historically, it is connected with the central European school and scientific form, which prevailed until the fall of Austria-Hungary, but even later, when Slovenian “university” – level *Pädagogik* between both World Wars strongly identified with the *geisteswissenschaftliche* paradigm of *Pädagogik*. In this

development, the emancipation of *Pädagogik* as a scientific discipline and on the other hand its division between different professional areas can be recognized, which even today makes it difficult to define its clear scientific identity. Its postwar development under the conditions of a single-party political system was multifaceted: on one side, *Pädagogik* until today could not avoid reproaches of being the ideological servant of political authorities. On the other side, especially during the period since the 1960s, it defined and strengthened its professional autonomy and scientific independence in polemics with the political authorities. In the last decades, the disintegration of *Pädagogik* as an integral discipline and the diminishing of the position of the Department of *Pädagogik* and Andragogy in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Ljubljana as the central scientific and professional center of Educational Sciences and *Pädagogik* in the country are noticeable. These processes are associated with asserting of the Anglo-American understanding of *Pädagogik* in the context of educational sciences; with questions of education, different scientific disciplines are occupied (psychology, sociology, philosophy ...), but education is not the central objective of their research. Currently, in Slovenia, social *Pädagogik* is already separated from the study of *Pädagogik*; andragogy is in the process of separation, special or rehabilitation *Pädagogik* separated long ago, all of which significantly reduced and specialized professional profile of the graduate of *Pädagogik*. On the other hand, new programs are developing that already use the Slovenian foreign word *edukacija* to designate withdrawal from the understanding of *Pädagogik* as an integral academic science, which was tradition in this milieu. It can be estimated that academic *Pädagogik* in Slovenia has found itself in a crisis and its status should be reconsidered.

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2.3.3 The Influence of John Dewey on Conceptions of Pädagogik in Yugoslavia

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Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the influence of some prominent currents in Anglophone educational thinking on pedagogy as a field of study in the state of Yugoslavia. In the former republics of Yugoslavia pedagogy took its orientations largely from the German concept of *Pädagogik*. For this reason, when referring to pedagogy as a field of study, we will sometimes use the term pedagogy, and other times *Pädagogik*, depending on the context.

The chapter analyses in particular the treatment and impact of Dewey's ideas over three historical periods in Yugoslavia: 1) between World Wars I and II (in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), 2) after World War II (in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), and 3) after the collapse of Yugoslavia (in the former republics that are, now independent states).

Dewey's relationship to Pädagogik

Dewey's interest in the ideas of German thinkers in the areas of philosophy (I. Kant, G. W. F. Hegel, etc.) and *Pädagogik* (F. Froebel, J. F. Herbart, etc.) was particularly strong at the beginning of his career. He defended his dissertation *The Psychology of Kant* in 1884. The same year, he started working at the University of Michigan in the field of philosophy, focusing particularly on the German Neo-Hegelianism. This began to change with his switch to pragmatism and his engagement at the Department of Philosophy in the University of Chicago in 1894. Dewey intended to unite or bring together philosophy, psychology and pedagogy as much as possible.

It might have seemed that running the three different academic departments was too much of a task for one person; however, what is certain is that Dewey advocated for a multidisciplinary approach to human activity (McDermott, 1973, p. xvii). Although Dewey was primarily a philosopher, his orientation towards the natural sciences and experimentalism greatly influenced his attitudes to pedagogy. He held that the methodical approach

of the experimental sciences contributed to the systematic advancement of knowledge, not least in the field of pedagogy (Dewey, 1970, pp.154,161). Also, Dewey's commitment to removing the dualism between teaching materials and teaching methods served as a departure point for criticizing the *Pädagogik* of the time and the unreflective routines of the so-called old school. Thus, he points out: "Since many who are actually most proficient in various branches of subject matter are wholly innocent of these methods, this state of affairs gives opportunity for the retort that pedagogy, as an alleged science of methods of the mind in learning, is futile; - a mere screen for concealing the necessity a teacher is under of profound and accurate acquaintance with the subject in hand" (Ibid., p. 117).

From 1895 to 1904: Dewey was one of the founders of the *National Herbart Society* (1895) in the USA and a member of the executive committee (until 1899), however, the society was renamed (1902) to the *National Society for the Study of Education*; Dewey's establishment and operation of Chicago Laboratory School (1896–1904); the establishment of the *Department of Pedagogy* in Chicago (1895), which was then renamed to the *Department of Education* (1901); and then, at the turn of twentieth century, his departure from the Neo-Hegelian idealist philosophy and his turning to pragmatism, which greatly influenced his educational theory. It can be assumed that all these experiences of Dewey's, among other things, were important as causes, reasons and/or indicators of changes in the overall concept and shift in the understanding of *Pädagogik* as a unique and integral science of education.

Emergence, treatment and influence of Dewey's publications in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1943)

Even before World War I and the constitution of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia there were publications that contained, among other things, references to Dewey's ideas and influence, especially in the Slovene language (see: Ogris, 1912; Kranjc, 1915). For example, in 1912, in the Slovenian magazine *Popotnik*, Pavel Flere pointed to Dewey's ideas and reasoning as examples of pedagogical tendencies towards "voluntary discipline" and the child's independence. On this occasion, Flere quoted a passage from Dewey's work *The School and Society* (1899) about the need and the importance of changes in education and teaching. From the late nineteenth century until 1916, Herbart's paradigm was the most dominant one in Montenegro, but between the two World Wars, owing to foreign book reviews of Dewey's

ey's ideas, interest in him increased (Pejović, 1980). A wider popularization of Dewey's ideas, before any of his works was translated, was enabled by the translation of the book *The Pedagogy of John Dewey* by Edouard Claparède (Klapared, 1920). Claparède's systematization of Dewey's pedagogical doctrine remained largely responsible for Dewey's reception in Yugoslavia throughout the twentieth century. Immediately after World War I, Dewey entered Yugoslav *Pädagogik* in a big way, but he was not systematically studied there. Also, after the publication of Claparède's translation a full six years passed before the professional public became acquainted with the original texts of Dewey's work. The first translations were in the form of excerpts from his books (Dewey, 1926; Derganc 1930; etc.).

In the textbooks and monographs by domestic and foreign authors, the occurrence and treatment of Dewey's pedagogical ideas can be traced, their attitude towards Herbart's work and various contextual frameworks of their perceptions. For example, in the textbook *General pedagogics* by a domestic author (Protić, 1924), Dewey is not mentioned at all. In the work translated from the Russian language *The Basic Problems of School Work* (Pistrak, 1928), Dewey's contribution was highlighted, especially when it comes to the concept of the Dalton plan and its value. However, the book very strongly condemns the plan's application, unless it is adjusted to the goals of the Soviet education (Ibid., p. 8). However, through *The Basics of Pedagogy: Introduction to Applied Philosophy*, the work which was translated from the Russian (Hesen, 1933), readers were able to get extensively acquainted with Dewey and Herbart's ideas, without ideological and political labelling or disqualification (Ibid., pp. 126–132, 308–313).

The influence of German *Pädagogik* was dominant during the years of the The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918–1929) and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929–1941). The first close acquaintance with Dewey's work *Democracy and Education* (1916) came through German literature. After the translation of this book into German (Dewey, 1930), Cvetko Popović extensively promoted K. F. Sturm's review of the book, published by the newspaper *Die Deutsche Schule* (Popović, 1931). Although, according to Sturm, *Democracy and education* was the most complete and the most mature of Dewey's pedagogical works, he pointed out that it did not belong to the area of German scholarship called "science of education" (*Erziehungswissenschaft*), but more to "educational teachings" (*erziehungslehren*) (Ibid., p. 630).

In 1934, the Serbian translation of the work *Democracy and Education* was published, but under a substantially different title – *Pedagogics and Democracy* (1934). The Yugoslav school reform, which had been initiated in

1930 and which emphasized the principle of the so-called "working school". The goal of "admission of the individual in the national community", was at the time at its peak. One of the main creators of this reform, Dragoljub Branković, published an extensive review of this book of Dewey's, stating that in it "a problem of education was raised to a maximum level and viewed comprehensively as never before" (Branković, 1934, p. 172). However, for Branković, the main point was that "after reading this great work of Dewey's, the opponents of the new pedagogical trend will be able to see how wrong they are about opposing the new working school and how unprincipled their actions are" (*Ibid.*, p. 173). Branković gave a detailed review of Dewey's "rebuttal" of Herbart's learning of apperception and "formal degrees" and Herbartian (Tuiskon Ziller) "cultural-historical stages" in the presentation of the teaching material. In fact, these Herbartian ideas still had supporters in Serbian teacher training schools and Branković's primary goal was to remove their aura of "scientific pedagogics". Another not less important task of the review was to bring Dewey's ideas into association with those of Georg Kerschensteiner (1854–1932), which were already familiar in Yugoslavia. Branković also sought to connect Dewey's arguments on the relationship between the individual and the community with the goal of Yugoslav school reform. Branković's ambition was to make some changes to the curriculum and the teaching methods in the direction of Dewey's philosophy, but for such an undertaking he had no support. Otherwise, in Serbia, between the two great wars, Dewey's work *The School and Society* was translated twice (1935; 1936a), as well as the book *Interest and effort in Education – Moral and Education* (1936b) which was translated from the French language and which did not cause too much of a stir in the world of Yugoslav pedagogy.

Perception and influence of Dewey's ideas in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1943–1992)

Immediately after World War II, the circumstances were much less favourable for the reception of Dewey's ideas in Yugoslavia, due to the focus to Soviet Pedagogy (Sovetskaya Pedagogika) in the period after its "conflict" with Pedology and the working school. For example, Shevkin's (Shevkin, 1948) text, *The Reactionary pedagogics of John Dewey*, published in the newspaper *Soviet Pedagogics*, was translated into Serbian-Croatian. In a very rough vocabulary Dewey was accused of serving the US imperialist bourgeoisie. He was further criticized for his opinion that the child must

be given a central place in education as well as for the reconstruction of the child's experiences. The author concludes: "It was not possible to come up with a duller idea in the area of pedagogics" (*Ibid.*, p. 103). Some Yugoslav authors likewise stood in the way of Dewey's positive reception. For example, in Slovenia, it was Vlado Schmidt, who shaped the public attitude towards Dewey. He saw Dewey in the context of a reactionary bourgeois pedagogy and its idealism. Accordingly, he criticized Dewey's pedagogical views (Schmidt, 1949). He classified him as belonging to the circle of representatives of progressivist pedagogies or, as he called this area, pedology or *youth science*. Schmidt interpreted Dewey's ideas to mean that all the teaching stems from the child, claiming that Dewey was fighting against systemic teaching by eliminating the leading position of the teacher in the classroom. For Schmidt this was a degenerate bourgeois philosophy, especially its theory of teaching (*Ibid.*, p.133).

The most comprehensive presentation of Dewey's pedagogical ideas in this period, which was also used in other republics of the federal state, is a chapter in the textbook on the history of pedagogics by the Slovene author Leon Žlebnik (Žlebnik, 1955). Just like Schmidt, he argues against the acceptability of Dewey's pragmatic philosophy as the basis of pedagogics. He emphasizes its bourgeois character, but he uses a more moderate tone than Schmidt, and has a milder attitude towards Dewey. In some places he points out that Dewey "penetrated deeply into American and Western European education and upbringing" and that "all the leading educational figures in the world are defined by how much they approach Dewey or how much they depart from him". Žlebnik concludes that Dewey "deserves to be considered by our pedagogical critics and that a healthy initiative ought to be adopted" (*Ibid.*, p. 301).

Dewey's work from 1938 – *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* (1938) was translated in 1962. It is particularly interesting that the book *Democracy and Education* was translated and published again, this time by a publisher in Montenegro in 1970. When it was released, no one in the whole of Yugoslavia mentioned it. It is not possible to find any comments about this translation or any reviews. This reveals much about the attitude towards Dewey's concept of education and pedagogy back then. It is interesting that this issue was published as a part of the Yugoslav-US PL-480 program, which involved US assistance to friendly countries in various areas. In this case it involved the "publication of works for free distribution in educational institutions and not for sale" (*Ibid.*, p. 2). Perhaps it is not surprising then that not a single copy of this book contains information on the year of publication or circulation. This publication, for a number of reasons, but

especially because of its content, could be viewed as an example of the use of *soft power* by the US on a broader system of social values, development of educational policy, and even pedagogics in Yugoslavia. Anyway, this is the only one of Dewey's book on education translated in the period after World War II in Yugoslavia. His famous article from 1897 *My Pedagogic Creed* (1983) was another of his works which was translated in this period.

Many pedagogical textbooks and manuals by Yugoslav authors and the works of the Soviet authors which were translated at that time reflect the attitude toward Dewey passed through an ideological and political prism. In the Serbian translation of one of the most influential Soviet textbooks – *Pedagogics* – from 1940, Dewey was mentioned in several places, the strengths of his teaching ideas were analysed, but also the disadvantages from the perspective of the Soviet pedagogics (Gruzdjev [ed.], 1950, p. 12, 48, 259, 394). There was no mention of Dewey in the chrestomathy *the Collection of Texts of Pedagogical Classics* (Milovanović [ed.], 1960) or the *Pedagogics* textbook (Teodosić, 1961). The textbook *General Pedagogy* (1964) mentions him only in one sentence, and he is disqualified on the basis that "he thinks that the task of school is education of children in the spirit of class harmony, which draws people away from the revolution" (Pataki, 1964, p. 15). The textbook *Pedagogy* (Krneta, Potkonjak and Potkonjak, 1965) presents Dewey's ideas as a paradigm for so-called bourgeois pedagogy and criticizes his followers as those "who went so far as to deny the whole of the former organization of education, school and even pedagogy" (*Ibid.*, p. 419).

It was not until the early seventies of the twentieth century that we find the first somewhat more objective and deeper analyses of Dewey's ideas, which are not stimulated by the dominant ideology. In a series of articles, Ljubomir Krneta (Krneta, 1971a, 1971b, 1971c) points out that Dewey emphasizes the position of the child in education in order to eliminate the shortcomings of the traditional pedagogics. Krneta adds that in doing so, Dewey does not fully encourage pedocentrism because he also emphasizes the role of the social factors in education (*Ibid.*, 1971a). When considering Dewey's views of the science of education, Krneta emphasizes that according to him pedagogy as a science cannot be content only with description and interpretation; it must follow the objective of usefulness and, within a certain constellation, it must determine what it itself should be; in order to be a science, pedagogy must use two methods – abstraction and systematization. Abstraction in pedagogy, according to Krneta, is more demanding than in other sciences, because it can often overlook some important factor. The science of education, Krneta argues, gains its legitimacy not only

by means of a clear scientific procedure, but by its practical usefulness, which is both the source and the end point of educational science (*Ibid.*, 1971b, p. 282). Krneta further stresses that, according to Dewey, other than from its own pedagogical observation and assessment tools, the science of education utilizes the results of other disciplines, particularly psychology, sociology and philosophy, which, however, cannot replace pedagogy. Psychology, for example, answers the question of how we learn, but not the question of what and why we learn. Sociology helps us determine the educational values, but cannot determine the objectives of education; this cannot even be achieved by philosophy, the science to which such a role has been traditionally attributed; the practice itself determines the goals, and because there is a unity of ends and means of education, pedagogy cannot be confined to the development of means (*Ibid.*, p. 283). In his conclusion Krneta notes that philosophical pragmatism was the target of Marxist criticism and that serving the interests of big capital, the pedagogy of pragmatism largely contributed to an instrumental conception of school work. Still, on Krneta's view, the focus on practice and student activities is a long-lasting positive effect of Dewey's pedagogy of pragmatism (Krneta, 1971c, p. 378–379).

One of the most objective and the most extensive reviews of Dewey's work during the Yugoslav communist era was given in the textbook *Modern trends of comparative pedagogy* in which, inter alia, it is stated that "the affirmation of pragmatism and instrumentalism in America meant at the same time the independence of American educational theory and practice and its detachment from European philosophical and pedagogical thought" (Mitrović, 1976, p. 315). Zaninović's 1988 textbook, *General history of pedagogy*, gives Dewey's ideas a positive assessment, provides a deep analysis, without ideological dismissals, and, in particular, it stresses Dewey's warnings of the disadvantages of extreme tendencies inherent to both pedagogy and traditional conservative concepts of education (Zaninović, 1988).

Reception and influence of Dewey's ideas in the former Yugoslav republics (from 1992)

By looking into the dictionaries, lexicons and encyclopaedias published in the republics of SFR Yugoslavia and the later independent states, from the second half of twentieth century to the present day it is possible to monitor the reception of Dewey and Herbart's ideas and their views on

the place and role of *Pädagogik* as a science of education. *The Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Pedagogy* (1963) provides detailed entries on Herbartians, Herbartism, Herbart-Ziller. A relatively short description of pragmatism is also given and its advantages and disadvantages are analysed (Franković, Pregrad and Šimleša [eds.], 1963). *The Pedagogical Encyclopaedia* (1989) also gives a brief overview and analysis of Dewey's pedagogical ideas and pragmatic pedagogy, as well as of Herbart's ideas and Herbartism itself, emphasizing that Herbart's ideas "experience a kind of rehabilitation, because a careful reading of his writings reveals the thoughts which are still current and which were suppressed in the long-ossified Herbartian didactic system and practice" (Potkonjak and Šimleša [eds.], 1989, p. 243). *The Serbian Pedagogical Lexicon* presents only Dewey's "phases of reflective thinking", in short his pragmatic pedagogy, while more attention is given to Herbartian *Pädagogik* and Herbart's psychology (Potkonjak and Pijanović, 1996). In the Montenegrin *Lexicon of pedagogical-psychological concepts and terms*, pragmatism, pragmatic pedagogy and Herbartism are briefly described (Damjanović, 2005). It seems that in all the above works, there is a slight favour of and greater respect for Herbart's contribution in relation to Dewey's.

However, in chrestomathies, such as *Pedagogical chrestomathy*, the excerpts from Dewey's publications are cited (Vlahović and Franković, 1995) and in textbooks Dewey's ideas have a respectable representation and, in relation to the previous period, a better treatment. For example, in one of the most relevant pedagogical textbooks in Serbia and beyond, *General Pedagogy*, Dewey was presented as one of the "greatest pedagogues (pedagogical classics) of the new time" (Potkonjak et al., 1996, p. 92). While emphasizing the importance of Dewey's ideas, some major differences and contradictions in relation to Herbart's understanding of child psychology and educational process are given, especially in terms of the organization of work of the school, the system of teaching, the teacher's role, the planning and programming of pedagogical work, etc. (*Ibid.*, p. 91). Today, Dewey's ideas are included in any pedagogical textbook in all the countries of the former Yugoslavia, and Dewey himself is treated as one of the pedagogical classics (Krulj, Kačapor and Kulić, 2003; Cenić, Dedić and Petrov, 2003; Mušanović and Lukaš, 2011; Antonijević, 2013).

After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, there were very few translations of Dewey's pedagogical works. The only translation *The School and Society* was republished (2012), this time in Slovenia (in the Slovene language) and the accompanying text was written by the Slovene sociologist Slavko Gaber, who translated the book, and the Serbian psychologist Ana Pešikan. Some

of Dewey's works from areas other than pedagogy were also translated: the work from 1927 *The Public and Its Problem* (1999) was translated into Slovene by the communicologist Andrej Pinter, who together with another communicologist Slavko Splichal wrote the accompanying text. Pinter also translated three of Dewey's articles: *Narava, sporočanje in pomen* (Nature, Communication and Meaning, 2001), *Religija in religiozno* (Religion and Religious, 2004a) and *Bivališče religiozne funkcije v človeku* (The Human Abode of the Religious Function, 2004b). Together with the sociologist Lenart Škof, Pinter also translated Dewey's work from 1934 *A Common Faith* (2008). In Croatia, the philosopher Heda Festini translated the book *Liberalism and Social Action* (Dewey, 2004c), and in Bosnia and Herzegovina the philosopher and sociologist Asim Mujkić translated *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (2004d). It is interesting to note that none of the translations was done by a pedagogue, but philosophers, sociologists and psychologists instead.

In the newly independent states of the former Yugoslavia, the process of opening up educational research to insufficiently known or new concepts of education was made more dynamic and particularly strong was the interest in pedagogical ideas from the West and the values of democracy, multiculturalism, and pluralism, etc. Thus, over time there was a growing interest in Dewey's ideas so that they became an object of systematic research. Especially since 2000, it is possible to find various publications, quotations, analyses and interpretations of Dewey's pedagogical ideas and influence: in Slovenia Dewey's ideas have been studied by Robi Kroflič (2002), Pavel Zgaga (2009) and Tadej Vidmar (2011), in Montenegro they have been studied in more detail by Vučina Zorić (Zorić, 2010, 2015a, 2015b, 2016). But the most important monograph was published in 2005 by the Macedonian author Suzana Miovska-Spasova – *Pragmatistichkata pedagogija i osnovno obrazovanje* (Pragmatic pedagogy and primary education). Almost all of these works are characterized by a profound and objective analytical approach to Dewey's thought, the possibilities of its application today, and its relation to pedagogy. However, there is still no in-depth study on the topic of Dewey's relationship to *Pädagogik* as a unified science of education, especially when it comes to his role in facilitating the concept of the *science(s) of education or educational sciences*. This sort of terminology and concepts are now a widespread trend that could lead to a marginalization or even destruction of *Pädagogik*. The designation "educational sciences" is increasingly present in the official documents of educational policy in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. The influence of Dewey on educational practice in the countries of the former Yugoslavia

cannot be directly proven. But it is possible to detect it implicitly in national educational policies, for instance in Montenegro (Lalović, 2009), or through the introduction of the reform projects which are aimed at improving the teaching and learning in schools as for example in Macedonia (*National programme...*, 2006). In Macedonia, the implementation of the projects *Active Teaching-Interactive Learning, Step by Step and Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking (RWCT)* is an example of Dewey's indirect influence on contemporary reforms of primary and secondary education (Miovska-Spaseva, 2016). This is the case moreover in almost all the countries of the former Yugoslavia.

Conclusion

It is important and possible to problematize Dewey's relationship to *Pädagogik* as a science and the consequences of that relationship. He was one of the most prominent thinkers of the twentieth century in the philosophy of education. Despite his familiarity with German philosophy he did not develop his ideas in the German tradition of *Pädagogik* as a science. Instead, Dewey contributed to creating the institutional conditions for the development of pedagogy as a university discipline in the US, after which he got more and more critical of the concept of *Pädagogik* as a unified science of education. The perception of Dewey's ideas in the newly created Kingdom of Yugoslavia was marked by the prioritization of national education policies, in the context of which many of Dewey's ideas were welcome. However, their study was unsystematic and happened mainly as a result of the personal enthusiasm of individual educational researchers and leaders. Still, this was the time when the first translations of Dewey's articles appeared, along with three of his pedagogical books. This indicates a recognition of their importance and of the interest of the local professional community. It also application reveals attempts to apply his ideas in reforms of the education system although the impetus for such an undertaking was not consistent or sustained.

Immediately after World War II, the atmosphere in SFR Yugoslavia was much worse for the reception of Dewey's pedagogical ideas. They were largely placed in a negative and ideologically coloured context, and his arguments were often criticized. At the time of a dominant socialist pedagogics, Dewey's impact was not significant because he was thought to negate the whole former organization of education (*Bildung*), school and even *Pädagogik*. However, since the seventies of the twentieth century, although

rarely, articles and monographs by Yugoslav authors were beginning to emerge, which not only studied Dewey's ideas objectively and in more detail, but also critically analysed his negative attitude towards traditional *Pädagogik* as a science of education.

With the dissolution of SFR Yugoslavia and the emergence of independent states, the reception of Dewey's works radically changed and his educational insights and philosophical approaches were more warmly received. This is particularly evidenced by the official documents of the strategies of educational policies in the countries of former Yugoslavia, in many projects and project-related activities, but also in a new pedagogical literature, i.e. textbooks by local authors. This being said, the translations of Dewey's books and articles are still very rare, but particularly since 2000, there is a noticeable increase in the interest from the researchers in different aspects of Dewey's concept of education.

Today, especially in continental European countries, the concepts of pedagogy and the *science of education* are often considered to be interchangeable (Dietrich, 1992), an understanding which originates from the time of World War I and reflects the pursuit of the experiential-scientific component, tight connections with empirical sciences and plurality of scientific concepts and research methods (Gudjons, 1994) in the fields of education research, which all well fits in with Dewey's aspirations and attitudes. The analysis that we conducted here is just one example and indicator that attests to the fact that *Pädagogik* is still not recognized and acknowledged as a unique science of education at the global level. Largely, the above stated is also a result of scientific and technological development under whose influence the content and function are changed, even the purpose of education and schooling in general as well as the basic function or the teleological-scientific definition of *Pädagogik*. As a result of all this, we have a stronger emergence of the *sciences of education or educational sciences* as a collection point of sciences and disciplines which deal with various aspects of bringing up, education – bildung, learning, schooling, etc. Such a concept and terminology are increasingly becoming a standard so that *Pädagogik* as a concept is translated into archaism and as a science it is suppressed by its reduction to History of Pedagogy or History of Education (Geschichte der Erziehung).

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2.3.4 *Pädagogik* in Bulgaria from the End of 19th Century

Albena Chavdarova

Pedagogy began to develop as an academic discipline in Bulgaria shortly after the country's liberation from Ottoman rule in 1878 and was initially tied to the training and development of teachers for the various educational levels.

The initial efforts in the newly formed state were aimed at the introduction of a compulsory education degree for all, on one side, and the training and preparation of qualified teachers, on the other. Male teachers received their training and qualification at the so-called pedagogical schools, while female teachers got theirs at all-girls, pedagogically profiled, secondary schools. Pedagogical schools therefore became natural centres for the emerging study and research of pedagogy in Bulgaria. At that early stage of development, the discipline was represented by an academic staff, educated mainly at the Vienna Pädagogium and the Teachers' Academy in Zagreb, all of whom were actively involved in the translation of pedagogical literature, while also publishing various journals and guide books. Their efforts helped shaping the pedagogical science in Bulgaria around the concepts and principles of the Herbartian *Pädagogik*, which was dominant in Europe in the second half of the 19th century. Herbartian *Pädagogik* was also officially acknowledged by the "Ministry of Enlightenment" (the then Ministry of Education), which embodied the central teachings of Herbartianism into the schools' curricula.

With the emergence of the Sofia University in 1888, the higher education institution established itself, alongside the Pedagogical Schools, as a centre for the development of the pedagogical discipline in Bulgaria and took over the functions of training and qualification of secondary school teachers. The discipline was initially thought in various courses, which were later grouped together to form a separate study program – "Pedagogy". The professors teaching pedagogy at the university represented a new generation of scholars/educators, who received their academic degrees at leading European institutions of higher education. Hence, the pedagogical discipline in Bulgaria did not solely embrace established European ideas, practices and concepts, but also developed new and original currents of thought, reflecting both the traditions and the present reality in the country. That way it managed to outgrow the narrow framework of a discipline

aimed solely at the training of qualified teachers and established itself as a science, which enabled it to explore all quarters of its domain.

Pedagogy in the university and the training of high-school teachers

October 1, 1888, lays the beginning of the pedagogical discipline on university level with the formation of the "Higher Pedagogical Course" in Sofia, designed to prepare mid- and high-school teachers (Vremenni Pravila, 1888). Two distinct departments were formed – one from the very start – history and philology; the other in the academic year of 1889/1890 – physics and mathematics. Each department comprised of a set of core subjects – Bulgarian language, psychology, pedagogy, didactics, methodology and hygiene of mind and body. Additionally, there were department-specific subjects, dependant on the subject to be taught at school – mathematics, history, etc., and electives – French or German, painting, music, calligraphy, stenography and gymnastics (Teodorov-Balan, 1896, p. 86). An analysis of the curriculum shows that the science of pedagogy held an important role in teaching and was represented in all its basic parts. Courses from the pedagogical discipline (pedagogy, didactics and methodology) were offered to all students throughout the 3-year study programs. In the first semester of the academic 1889–1890 students attended pedagogy, psychology and sociology (which was later dropped, due to lack of professor); history of education, logic, didactics and ethics in the second; and aesthetics and history of philosophy in the third (Agura, 1893, p. 120).

These courses were in the spirit of the predominant, across a number of countries in the 19th century, Herbartian method of training teachers, which was successfully implemented at the University Pedagogical Seminar in Jena, Germany, by K. V. Stoy (1815–1885) initially and later by W. Rein (1847–1929). Ivan Gregorov, one of the first university professors in his field and an active collaborator on the previously mentioned study plan, spent 5 semesters, (from 1883 to 1887) attending that seminar. Amongst the other contributors was the co-author of the draft of the bill for opening a higher education institution (a university) in Sofia from 1899, Ivan Shishmanov, who also studied in Jena in 1884. Many others then graduated in Bulgaria and further contributed to the training and qualification of future teachers and educators.

The key feature of the model, which incorporated the Herbartian theories and came to be known as the Saxon model, was that in addition to the courses on disciplines taught in middle school, educators were required to

complete a pedagogical training in a University Pedagogical Seminar. The seminar had two dimensions – theoretical with lectures and classes, and practical with workshops, observing and teaching classes. The theoretical part included “introductory” pedagogical disciplines like psychology, philosophy, ethics, logic and aesthetics, as well as “core” disciplines – history of education and pedagogical systems. Precisely this model was the basis for the establishment of pedagogical training to students in the newly founded High Educational Course, as well as legitimizing the science of pedagogy in Bulgaria.

In 1894 a new education bill, the “Higher Education Act”, was approved. Included in the bill was a new curriculum of the Faculty of History and Philology, which changed the way the study disciplines were grouped, within the faculty. Three groups emerged, in accordance with the subjects taught in middle school: History and Geography; Slavic Philology and Literature; Philosophy and Pedagogy.

The third group, encompassed courses in psychology, logic, ethics, aesthetics, history of philosophy, various religious philosophies, law, history and *pedagogy*. According to the new law, history of education, didactics and methodology, although included in the initial draft, were at the end taken out of the curriculum, leaving a single general course in *pedagogy*. The course is an introductory one and stressed mainly on theory of education. Its structure suggests that the training of teachers was shifting toward propaedeutic courses and away from the pure pedagogical ones, which limits the methodological and didactical skills of the students. This also affects the development of the pedagogical science, which evolved rather one-sidedly (concentrating on theory of education). The reasons that lead to the change in course toward decreasing pedagogical training, which further limits the presence of pedagogy as a science on a university level, can be traced by digging in several directions.

First, there were still not enough teachers on an academic level (professors) in Bulgaria, capable of instructing the courses, initially planned in the bill. The only specialists, with pedagogical education in the 1880s and 1890s, were those who graduated the Teachers’ School in Zagreb and the Vienna *Pädagogium*. Unfortunately, they did not have university education and therefore were prohibited from teaching at a university. The first university graduates of the University of Wien, who finished the University Pedagogical Seminar as well, returned to Bulgaria in the late 90s.

Secondly, in the legislative framework, the state rigorously regulated the pedagogical training of elementary and middle school teachers, but the same did not apply to high school teachers, which started its develop-

ment in 1888 with the opening of the Sofia University. Initially training of high school teachers was outlined and regulated solely through decisions, autonomously taken by the Academic Council, whose members, seemingly due to lack of information, largely did not support the studies of the pedagogical science.

The two weaknesses laid out, have been partially overcome by the passing of the "Law for the University" (1904), although when it comes to the training of high school teachers, the science of pedagogy was still serving a secondary, auxiliary function, and with a severely limited content at that (Zakon za Universiteta, 1904). This is paradoxical, because the study of the pedagogical discipline plays a main role in training elementary and middle school teachers in pedagogical schools. Evidence for that can be found in the approved in 1905 curriculum by the Ministry of National Education, which included a plan for pedagogical training of elementary and middle school teachers, which defines theoretical and a practical training. The theory included the study of pedagogy and its "supportive" disciplines – psychology, logic and ethics. Pedagogy was essentially the *Pädagogik* of Wilhelm Rein and it largely didn't deviate from his views (see Programa na mazhkite I devicheski pedagogicheski uchilista, 1905, pp. 417–420). The previous differentiation between historical (or as it is referred to in Bulgaria – history of pedagogy) and systematic (referred to as practical and theoretical pedagogy) pedagogy is kept. Besides general theory, the curriculum of 1905, included methodology of the subjects to be taught at school. The practical training remained in the form of workshops, teaching exercises (observation and practice) and conferences.

From a brief look at the cited curriculum for pedagogical schools, it is evident that the study of pedagogy and its "supportive disciplines", has found its place in the educational system in Bulgaria both in content and in the context of the European trends of the time. The same cannot be said of the training of high school teachers at university, no concrete theoretical framework nor practical teaching skills are required for the preparation of high school teachers. Because of that attendance was not mandatory, and many students did not follow the classes.

The change came in 1909, when the National Education Act included a provision that required a completed pedagogical internship (art. 127, item "b") and a state wide practical exam (Zakon za narodnoto prosvestenie, 1909) for all high school teacher candidates. Despite the fact that this is a definite step forward toward regulation defining the requirements for becoming a high school teacher, the legislation lacks requirements that mandate a theoretical knowledge in pedagogy. This essentially means the

law makers accept that in high schools, unlike in the pedagogical schools, teacher's training requires pedagogical skills, but no knowledge of the science of pedagogy. It is apparent that pedagogy is viewed only through the prism of its significance in practice, but not in theory.

The provisions specified in the law were laid down in the "Regulation of a State Exam for Applicants for Full-Time Teachers at Secondary Schools". The regulation states that the written exam will be on the chosen by the future teacher subject to be taught at school and the oral exam will consist of two mock lectures on the subject and one conference. Once again this proves the thesis that high school teachers are required to be well prepared on the subject they will be teaching, but not on the theory of teaching (Pravilnik, 1909).

The situation remained unchanged until the National Education Act passed in 1921 (*Zakon za narodnoto prosvestenie*, 1921), which introduced a new set of changes regarding the training of high school teachers. The law outlines concrete requirements for the future teachers, including lectures in pedagogy, didactics and methodology (art. 332) and practical training in the form of workshops, conferences and practice teaching, which took place in the newly opened Exemplary High School at the Sofia University (art. 332). Furthermore, the students had to complete a one-year internship. To a great extent, this corresponded to the reorganizations enacted under the District Decision No. 3818 from 29.12.1922 in the "State Exam Regulation for Applicants for Full-Time Teachers at Secondary Schools", according to which only candidates who have attended at least two semesters of classes in pedagogy (*Allgemeine Pädagogik*/general pedagogy, high school didactics and methodology of the subject to be taught) were allowed to take the exam to become teachers (Okrazhno No 3818, 1922, §2 and § 5).

Up until 1944 there were no regulatory changes regarding the pedagogical training of high school teachers. After 1930 new teachers were trained in the Internship Institute, which was part of the Sofia University, by professors who themselves graduated in "Pedagogy" at the same university.

Pedagogy as an academic discipline viewed through the "Pedagogy" degree at the Sofia University

In 1904, with the University Act, a new "integrated" degree, called "Philosophy and Pedagogy" formed at the Sofia University and started a new stage of development for the science of pedagogy. On one side it helped tackle the lack of academics with a pedagogical degree, needed by the edu-

cation system, especially in the administration, who were at that time educated in foreign universities (predominantly in Jena). On the other side, the pedagogical science began to establish itself on a higher academical level, which transformed the university into a natural centre for the science of pedagogy, not only training teachers, but also contributing in expanding the theoretical framework of pedagogical science.

The new degree was realized through the 1905 curriculum, and outlined two disciplines – Philosophy and Pedagogy. The subjects to be studied were different based on the discipline chosen. The distinction was clearly made, so that a more specialized training can be offered, and the two can be clearly differentiated. Under the framework of the curriculum the subjects were further grouped into – “core” and “supplementary”.

As part of the “core” subjects in the discipline of pedagogy were *history of education*, *“Allgemeine Pädagogik”*, *history of Bulgarian education*, *school organization and management*, *psychology* and *ethics*, as well as “*main subjects*” (“Glavni Predmeti” – a mixture of school seminars and lab exercises). The “Supplementary” ones were *logic*, *history of philosophy*, *anthropology*, *hygiene*, *political economy and state law* (Godishnik na Sofiiskija universitet, 1906, p. 55).

A detailed analysis of the curriculum from 1905/1906 reveals that the courses on offer in the two disciplines, although part of the same degree, were different fields of scientific study. Students who chose one discipline, did not attend classes from the other, with the exception of psychology, ethics, logic and history of philosophy, which were followed by all students of the degree in “Philosophy and Pedagogy”. The reason for this is the well-established in the second half of the 19th-century “system of pedagogy”, originally formulated by J. F. Herbart and then further developed by his followers T. Ziller and W. Rein, which dictates that psychology and ethics are the “main supportive disciplines” of Pedagogy and as such need to be studied both by the future high school teachers and the future university professors, who will lecture them. The same system was adopted by the Sofia University in the beginning of the 20th century.

Another peculiarity that stands out from the curriculum is that both disciplines have the same final exams. Despite the fact the courses are different, both disciplines are part of the same degree and therefore, students must be subject to the same examination procedure. According to the University Exams Regulation of 1905 there were two types of examination – university exams (first and second; to achieve a university degree) and academical exams (to become Doctor of Science) (Godishnik na Sofiiskija universitet, 1906, p. 49). Furthermore, a “Program for University Exams” was created,

which outlined the structure of university examination. The “Philosophy and Pedagogy” degree included the following exams (Ibid., p. 51):

- Exam I – after completing 4 semesters – history of philosophy up until Emanuel Kant, psychology, logic, ethics, history of education, pedagogical systems (*Allgemeine Pädagogik*), Bulgarian history (a single period), Bulgarian language history, the two classical languages (except for those who have graduated from the classical department of their high school) and one other language
- Exam II – after completing 8 semesters:
 - General Disciplines – history of Kant’s Philosophy, aesthetics, history of education, didactics, methodology, hodegetics.
 - Optional Disciplines – a choice between theory of cognition (Metaphysics), and school organization and management.

The analysis of the “Program for University Exams” clearly indicates that both disciplines stand equal ground when it comes to examination, despite the different courses that the students attend. Again, it is demonstrated that although two different science disciplines are being taught, there is only one degree and graduating from that degree must be the same for all students.

The analysis of the various documents that regulate university pedagogy shows another interesting characteristic. The subjects, which formed the two disciplines listed before, only outline the general field of study to be taught, but the specific courses vary depending on the main discipline chosen – Pedagogy or Philosophy. That way, as part of *history of education*, Prof. Dr. Noykov lectures on “History of the New Pedagogy”, “English Education”, as well as leading a seminar, studying Herbart’s most notable work – “*Allgemeine Pädagogik*, beyond the purpose of moral education” (Godishnik na Sofiiskija universitet, 1906, p. 72).

The situation remains this way up until 1923, when the degree split and a faculty of “Pedagogy” was established. The professors were split in two departments – “Pedagogy” (as the discipline of 1904 stood), which was renamed in 1924 to “General Pedagogy” (*Allgemeine Pädagogik*), and “Didactics and Methodology in Middles School” (from 1921), renamed to “Didactics and Methodology” in 1924. This thematical split into two departments both emulates the structure of the science of pedagogy and reflects the path on which the development of teacher training was already on, with a clear distinction between an educational theory and practice, which was being regulated in 1922.

In the following years, the academic field of pedagogy started to prop-

erly develop, on par with European trends. The academic disciplines were grouped in four cycles – pedagogical, philosophical, foreign languages and secondary degree (elective). Using the student record of the future professor Nayden Chakurov (1907–1990), who studied Pedagogy from 1926 to 1930, we can reconstruct the degree's study plan (Boycheva, 2000, pp. 23–24):

I. General pedagogic disciplines – General pedagogy (Allgemeine Pädagogik), Theory of education, Didactics, Active education, Pedology, Experimental pedagogy (Experimentelle Pädagogik), Analysis of Lay's experimental didactics.

II. Psychological disciplines – Psycho-physical fundamentals of teaching and learning, Pedagogical psychology, Experimental child psychology, Psychology and teaching the weak and defective students.

III. History-pedagogical disciplines – History of Education, History of Bulgarian education, History of didactics, History of didactics since Pestalozzi, New school, Contemporary educational movements, School systems abroad.

IV. Methodology and methods of research – Methods of educational research, Didactic experiments in schools, Research methods in child psychology and child education, Exercises in methods of educational research, Exercises in child research.

V. Management of Education – School organisation.

VI. Methodologies – Methodology, Methodology of formal learning and teaching, Methodology of natural sciences and mathematics learning and teaching, Methodology of visual learning and teaching, Methodology of philosophic propaedeutic.

VII. Other – Psychotherapy, Public and Personal Hygiene.

This study plan example was complemented by many other elective courses, lectured by the professors – Dimitar Katsarov, Hristo Negentsov, Mihail Geraskov, Petko Tsonev, who were the leading educators in Bulgaria.

Prof. Dr. Dimitar Katsarov (1881–1960) graduated in "Philosophy and Pedagogy" at the University of Geneva (1904–1909) and in 1910 defended his dissertation entitled "Contribution à l'étude de la reconnaissance". From 1907 to 1910 he was an assistant professor in psychology to Prof. Edouard Claparède. In 1910 he was a lecturer at Sofia University as an assistant professor, in 1920 as an associate professor and from 1930 to 1947 as a professor. He was also the editor of the "Free Education" Journal (1922–1946). Prof. Katsarov lectured in *Allgemeine Pädagogik*, experimental pedagogy,

experimental child psychology, pedology (the study of children), special education, vocational guidance, philosophy of education, history of pedagogy and education and contemporary pedagogical thought.

Prof. Dr. Hristo Negentsov (1881–1956) studied “Philosophy and Pedagogy” at the universities of Jena, Leipzig and Zurich, and in 1908 he defended a doctoral dissertation in Zurich entitled “Das Prinzip der Selbständigkeit in der Pädagogik Fr. Fröbels”. In 1922 he became an assistant professor at Sofia University, then in 1928 an associate professor and in 1930 an “Extraordinary” professor. He was the editor of the newspapers “Education”, “Teachers Thought” and “New school”. He was a member of The Montessori Association (the Netherlands), the International Union for Special Education, and the Central Institute for Education and Teaching (Germany). Prof. Negentsov read lectures in history of education, history of Bulgarian education, school organization, school systems abroad, contemporary pedagogical movements, organization of education in Europe, education in the Scandinavian countries, education in Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria, contemporary philosophy of education and state and education.

Prof. Dr. Mihail Geraskov (1874–1957) graduated in “Philosophy and Pedagogy” at the university of Zurich and in 1912 defended a dissertation entitled “Die sittliche Erziehung nach Herbert Spencer unter Berücksichtigung seiner Moralphilosophie und Entwicklungslehre”. In 1923 he became a part-time associate professor at Sofia University, in 1924 a full-time associate professor and in 1927 an “extraordinary” professor. Geraskov lectured in didactics, educational psychology, psycho-physical fundamentals of learning and teaching, social psychology, history of didactics, methodology of natural sciences and mathematics education and methodology of the philosophic propaedeutic.

Prof. Dr. Petko Tsonev (1875–1950) graduated in “Philosophy and Pedagogy” in Zurich and in 1900 defended a dissertation entitled “Begleiterscheinungen psychischer Vorgänge in Atem und Puls”. In 1920 he became an assistant professor, in 1921 a full-time associate professor, in 1925 an “extraordinary” professor and in 1931 a full-time professor. Tsonev lectured in didactics, the didactic experiment at school, methodology, methodology of teaching and learning at primary schools, methodology of teaching and learning at secondary schools, methodology of formal education, methodology of observatory teaching, educational psychology, theory of learning and teaching, education at primary and secondary schools, the cognitive work of a student, hodegetic for the primary and secondary schools, the new school, active learning and teaching, theory of education, new directions in school education and school organization.

Prof. Dr. Hristo Nikolov (1889–1957) graduated in "Philosophy and Pedagogy" at Sofia University (1914). In 1938 he was an assistant professor, in 1946 an associate professor, and in 1952 a full-time professor at Sofia University. He later became head of the department of "Didactics". He lectured in methodology of primary school teaching and didactics.

The cited model curriculum and the specific lecture courses read at the Sofia University at that time show that all fields of educational science were represented – history, theory, management and organization, educational research, didactics and methodology. This included the reformist movements from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century from Europe and the United States, while at the same time keeping with the Herbartian view of the connection between pedagogy and its "supportive" sciences, especially with psychology, which strongly influenced the training of the future educators, and is preserved to this day. Grouping the various subjects in 4 cycles, in accordance with the contemporary trends of the educational science of the time, enables a solid foundation in both theory and practice. The foundation is reinforced by the numerous remarkable academics, who both lectured the main courses at the Sofia University and worked on developing the science of pedagogy in Bulgaria.

The academics who worked at the time, all graduated and defended their doctorates in leading European Universities – in Leipzig, Jena, Berlin, Zurich, Geneva, where the science of pedagogy was well established. After returning to Bulgaria they carry the academic spirit of those institutions to the Sofia University. They were highly skilled academics, with wide knowledge in their field, which allowed them not only to transfer and apply foreign theories and ideas, but to develop their own and further the study of pedagogy, producing numerous publications, part of which in leading European journals.

They were collaborating with the most significant minds of their field from across Europe and the United States, with foreign organizations and magazines, took part in science forums and facilitated an exchange of ideas and experience, which helped Bulgaria join the European stage.

Between the vast body of published works, research and being the champions of a new generation of educators and high school teachers, the professors-educators of that time, brought what is considered to be a golden age for university pedagogy in Bulgaria, which shaped the way it is today.

Conclusion

Since the opening of the first university in Bulgaria in 1888, up until 1944, when the country entered a different stage of its political, economical and cultural development, the science of pedagogy followed the established European models and global constructs of pedagogical thought.

Initially all developments were confined to the Pedagogical Schools, where elementary school teachers were being trained, in the spirit of Herbartianism. Despite the fact that in Bulgaria Herbartian *Pädagogik* evolved rather one-sidedly, no one can deny its positive influence toward legitimizing pedagogy as a science, which lays the foundation for school management and organization and training of qualified teachers.

University pedagogic continues down the same path of development, but now at a higher academic level. At the beginning of the 20th century, the ideas and concepts of the so-called reformist pedagogy (the movement for “new education”) dominate the field. The Bulgarian educators of the time break those ideas through the prism of their own, to formulate new ones, through experimental studies and theoretical research.

Pedagogy established itself as equal to other academic sciences and further reinforced itself, by means of its own university degree. Internally its differentiation continues, forming distinct disciplines, like *Allgemeine Pädagogik*, didactics, theory of education, history of education and history of Bulgarian education, methodology of teaching on the distinct school subjects and on the levels of school education, and so on.

University pedagogy in the period from 1923 to 1944, also exhibits pluralistic characteristics, founded on the freedom of choice of methodology and on the views and ideas, already well-established in Europe, mixed with original ones, proven in theory and demonstrated in practice by the Bulgarian academics of that time. Recognized across Europe, those educators brought a golden age for the science of pedagogy in Bulgaria.

In the years after 1944, the pedagogical science experiences a great transformation, in line with the new educational paradigm of the political regime. Pedagogy closes itself within the borders of the Eastern Bloc and ultimately loses its international prestige, upheld for decades by professors like Dimitar Katsarov, Hristo Negentsov, Mihail Geraskov, Petko Tsonev, Hristo Nikolov and their students. Under the new political order, university pedagogy concentrated its efforts on spreading and enforcing the soviet theory and practice.

With the wind of change in 1989, the science of pedagogy began, with a certain degree of difficulty, to get out of “its self-inflicted adolescence”

(Kant) and slowly regain its ground. The efforts made were not in the least inconsequential, and provide optimism and hope, that even greater academic accomplishments will follow both in theoretical research and in practice.

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Conclusion

Blanka Kudláčová and Andrej Rajský

The concept of *homo educandus* finds itself regularly at the heart of European philosophical reflection. According to this concept, the center of pedagogical anthropology rests precisely in the determination of a human as an educable and an education-dependent being.

Educability as a possibility, and at the same time the necessity of education for a human, is not only one of their many descriptive characteristics but it is an ontological premise, a fundamental background of a human as a human. This essential dimension of dwelling of a human being in the world may be described as persistent theme in the culture of the West, beginning with Platonic and Aristotelian *paideia* up to Heideggerian care of a human creation for themselves, others and the world. This purposeful coming-out-of-one's self, the movement toward others, the other and the Other, is a permanent accompanying feature of the restless European spirit. It is both conquering and responsible, both action-based and mystical, both critical and self-ironic, thirsty for the truth but also encouraging to caution and humility. The spiral of trust and doubt, rationalism and irrationalism, enthusiasm and fatalism, surpluses and shortages, resistance and defeat can be observed in the history of European pedagogical thinking as a process that seems legitimate, definitive of humans as such.

Seeking to capture this definitive character and to elucidate its possibilities are among the first responsibilities of educational thought. Such thinking of course has different dimensions; for instance analytic-synthetic on the one hand and historical-interpretive on the other. The first of these dimensions is the subject of philosophy of education, the second is dealt with by the history of pedagogical thinking. In our collective publication, we decided to connect both dimensions and to create a theoretical synthesis in an interdisciplinary and international manner. The title of the book, and its elaboration in the Introduction, indicates something of the contrast between Continental European and Anglophone approaches to education as a field of study and research.

We are aware of particular limits of the work. The first is a limited cultural-geographical selection of authors from the tradition of Continental *Pädagogik*. The monograph contains contributions by authors from the Central, Southern and Southeastern Europe, with a significant representation of countries of the so-called post-communist space. In spite of the fact that it refers to the classical German concept of *Pädagogik* and presents numerous references to German authors, the book lacks direct representatives of the German world. The second limit is concerns what is not included in the book. For reasons of size, which is already large, we have not included perspectives from Anglophone educational research,

which would give more of the character of a dialogue to the publication. The work, written in the English language, is therefore offered as a challenge and invitation to cooperation to friends from the environment of the Anglophone educational research. The written work is understood as the first step that is certainly to be followed by other steps.

The perspectives offered of the development of *Pädagogik* as an academic discipline in some countries of Continental Europe over the past one hundred years are not intended as an archival summary: systematic insights into the dead past that are approached as exhibits in a museum. The main reason for assembling these perspectives is the effort to capture something that created the identity of Continental educational research in the 20th century. That identity forms the base of our contemporary – even though transformed – approaches to education and persists in them in some form. Facing the challenges of today's changing world, behind the threshold of modernism and amidst the "story" of the crisis, we pose a question: Have we really refused the teleological, or anything like a *telos* (inherent aim), from our systematic researches in education? Or is the apparent avoidance of fundamental questions of purpose a sign of an underlying malaise – namely a fear of ourselves and our own destructive forces, a manifestation of immoderate anthropocentrism, even an outright denial of the unconceptualizable?

Even in "our postmodern modernity" (Welsch, 1994) or "metamodern present" (cf. Vermeulen, Van den Akker, 2010), we are facing the "event of education"; an event that – contradicting all the theses about the post-educational fate of Europe – occurs always in an encounter of a human with a human. As long as human beings share a world with other human beings, they will be educated and educating – *paidos* and *paidagogos*. Education will continue, and will continue to need reflection, criticism and improvement. Never before have humans been more reliant upon education than today. This leads us to a conclusion that education still plays an extraordinarily important role. Put in the words of a notable Czech philosopher of education Radim Palouš (1991) – "the time of education" has come.

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