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LOCAL SPACES FOR CITIZENSHIP AND LEARNING

Introduction

Changing relationships between the state, civil society and the citizen result not only from a diversity of dependencies and relationships between the subjects but also from giving new meanings and constructing a new framework for these subjects and, particularly, for the concept of citizenship.

[...] it is important to move beyond the notion of citizenship as a kind of personal status, a combination of rights and duties that all legal members of the nation-state hold. The discussion of theories of citizenship requires stating a premise from the outset: a theory of 'good citizen' should be relatively independent from the formal premise of the legal question of what it is to be a citizen. This is so because of the dual theoretical concerns of citizenship: as identity and as civic virtues (Torres, 2006, p. 539)

Citizenship and its types together with a description of diversified relationships towards the state, society and citizen type are the subject matter of this paper. Activity connected with deconstructing 'old' and seeking and constructing new meanings and a framework for citizenship is a widely understood process of learning. Citizenship acquires a new meaning, because contexts of social, political and economic life change, whereas a new framework for citizenship turns up together with the transformations of social forms of integration and participation.

The ways of defining citizenship in the social consciousness are very diverse. It is possible to distinguish various concepts of citizenship, which result from different forms of social organisation (nation, state, citizenship society), from dominant ideologies or from various areas where citizens act, be it as a 'European citizen,' 'citizen of the world,' 'local' or 'global citizen,' etc. Rennie Johnston (2003, pp. 7–9) justifies the change in understanding notions of citizenship by indicating that already a long time ago comprehension of this notion exceeded traditional understanding given to it by the concept of the citizenship of Marshall. Other concepts, the writer believes, like communitarian, liberal, radical or feminist ones, introduce to the concept of citizenship new categories, such as participation, identity, change, criticism, difference and diversification. Such elements of citizenship also significantly influence citizenship education or the learning of citizenship, which the writers splendidly justify in the following quotation:

The rapid socio-economic, political and cultural developments within an increasingly diverse and uncertain world clearly influence the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values a citizen requires to participate meaningfully in a contemporary democracy (Coare and Johnston, 2003, p. 9).

Where should one seek for explanations of the present, where there are so many diverse aspects of citizenship activity and the concept of citizenship? Perhaps, as Tocqueville suggests, in the continuity of democratic institutions? On the other hand, maybe this source includes myths, stereotypes and historical experiences inhibiting our collective identity. If it is assumed that the mechanism for creating citizenship status has been determined historically and politically, then a good example of this is the case of the Polish model of citizenship. To justify this thesis the writer will try to show the social and political conditions, which have been influencing the shape and concept of citizenship in Poland. Indeed, the 20th Century in Poland was very abundant in events that significantly influenced the way of learning citizenship, the understanding of this notion and the character of actions undertaken by the nation-state and its institutions and citizens. A presentation of the dominant citizenship concepts in Polish social thought will allow the specification of an ideological basis of actions described as active and democratic citizenship. Polish history in the 20th Century was so diversified that it brought about the possibility of creating many types of citizenship.

On the other hand – next to the strictly historical perspective – the writer suggests looking at the experiencing and learning of citizenship in Poland from the point of view of four main ideas) of Polish social life in the 20th century. These can be defined as resistance, adjustment, transformation and emancipation. Each of these major ideas may generate) a different model of a citizen and a different way of acting through various forms of social integration. However, these four notions do not coincide with chronological layout of historical events in Poland in this particular century.

The last element of the analysis appears to be a type of peripheral citizenship. Peripheral citizenship is strictly connected with communities that live on the fringe of the mainstream of social life and public discourse connected with citizenship. However, there are justified doubts and questions. For instance, is it possible at all to talk about the existence and learning of citizenship in communities, which – according to the criteria adopted by citizenship researchers – are marginalised, inactive, own low human and social capital and where people are locked into their local worlds either because of their own free will or because they are under some kind of constraint? There exist two answers to this question. The first one, as modern research on trust, participation and the activity of local people shows, is that citizenship and citizenship attitudes are not presently understood like that. The second answer – next to the known and well-shaped notion of citizenship – is that there also exists a specific understanding of this category (citizenship), which is formed by space, territory and the history of the place where local people live. In order to answer the question of peripheral citizenship, it is necessary to learn the meaning and framework a small local community gives to the notion of citizenship.

Citizenship as an effect of historical and political processes:

A Polish case study

It seems that finding out about the concept of citizenship, which functioned in the inter-war period in Poland i.e. from 1918 to 1939 is not a difficult task. Before the regaining of independence, complex conditions of national slavery during which Poland was partitioned for 123 years and the lack of its own statehood meant that the theory and practice of civil education came mainly from the concept of a nation and not from the concept of a state (Jamrożek, 1998, p. 69; Serejski, 1973). In 1918 the time came for building the concept of citizenship resulting from the concept of a state. More so, as the need for strengthening the young state was very great and necessary in terms of both social life and Polish awareness.

In the interwar period discussions amongst the constituent sources that form civil attitudes became very clearly outlined. The question of whether it is to be a nation or a state was widely present in discussions amongst politicians, educators and activists of all kinds. During the *II Rzeczpospolita* (Second Republic) several currents of thinking about civil education and citizenship were outlined and numerous attempts were made to overcome the antinomy between a nation and a state.

The first current can be specified as traditionally conservative and it spread the concept of national education, which propagated the idea of romantic idealism (in the sphere of aims) and positivist realism (in the scope of operational means) (Jamrożek, 1998, p.70). In this concept a Polish citizen was both a hero and a worker in the one person (S. Prus-Szczepanowski) or a type of soldier, who fights for the rights of an oppressed nation (Z. Balicki) or for the rights of all nationals connected with their social and cultural promotion (H. Radlińska) (Jamrożek, 1998, pp. 70-71).

The next current is democratically civilian and a characteristic of the environments of teachers. Here, the concepts of citizenship were propagated and understood as

“a feeling connecting an individual with a nation and state, where the nation for a citizen is as if an extended family and the state is as if an extended own home” (H. Witkowska) and clearly aimed at the reconciliation of the concepts of citizenship based on the idea of a nation and a state (Jamrożek, 1998, p.74).

The third current in social thought regarding civil education and citizenship is state education. The advocates of this concept of citizenship, which was based on the concept of a state, did not question the concept of national education.

Instead they emphasised the anachronism of its ideology (grown in the times of national slavery), the lack of the factor of statehood (and connected with it e.g. the loyalty towards state, its symbols and authorities). They paid attention to the issue of the attitude towards national minorities which constituted a significant percent of the population of *II Rzeczpospolita*. Opposing the slogans of national assimilation they put forward the programme of state assimilation. They were expressing an opinion that the state providing the minorities with conditions for unrestricted development and taking care of their economical situation will at the same time propagate among them the feeling of responsibility for the lot of the common country or at least will shape the loyal attitude’ (Jamrożek, 1998, p.72, see also Jakubiak, 1994).

The authors of the concept of state education when referring to the criticism of other currents emphasised that they were against educating the ‘adherents’ of one specific political orientation (H. Pohoska) but they cared about

developing from below a free soul in each citizen and then social groups capable of understanding the values of the state, the feeling of justice, responsibility, the spirit of co-operation and generosity and creative skills

in all citizens regardless of professed religious, ethnic or national origins.

At the end of 1930s a concept of citizenship propagated by national and catholic pedagogy returned as a dominant discourse both in the circles of the ruling parties and amongst the activists. This concept was connected not only with the change of the ruling camp but also with the change of external political conditions in Poland. This re-orientation in educational ideology contributed also to overcoming

the dichotomy of the nation and state, as basic ideas in shaping the example of citizenship (Jamrożek, 1998, p. 80). The resolutions of the 4th Pedagogical Congress in May, 1939 started with the statement:

the main target of education shall be creating a decisive attitude, full of readiness to defend the state and to augment its possessions in every field... joint educational work shall head for educating a full human being - a citizen, a fighter and worker whose distinguished features are activity, independence of thinking, civil courage and high level of socialising which expresses itself in internal discipline and generous work for his native social class, nation and state.

The period of World War II, as some argue, led to a positive verification of the concept of citizenship and civil education propagated by the *II Rzeczpospolita* (Jamrożek, 1998, p. 81).

In the period of People's Republic of Poland (PRL) the situation regarding the experiencing of citizenship became very complicated in terms of social awareness. On the one hand, people experienced the official programme of civil education together with a propagandistic model of citizenship, while, on the other hand, there appeared unofficial concepts of citizenship in a so called 'second circulation.' These latter ideas were not always circulated on paper (and were, thus, difficult to access) but also in the form of actions e.g. actions coming out in the defence of political prisoners or in the form of protest letters expressing disagreement with the changes made to the Constitution of 1976 (compare Przyszczykowski, 1998).

At this time, there is no doubt that the official concept of citizenship was dominant but because of its ideological formulation and use of propaganda, delivery of this notion caused an aversion to the very notion of 'citizenship' (Citizen Militia). It should be noticed here that these negative connotations of the notion 'citizenship' were later transferred to the discourse about the concept of citizenship in Poland. Many essays have been written about the situation, generally speaking, of 'citizenship' and civil education in the times of the PRL. It can be emphasised explicitly that political and civil rights (according to the classification of Marshall) were stifled and that social rights were solely granted by the authorities.

The only rights which were developed during that time were social rights. Thus, education became free on all levels, including adult education. Compensatory education for adults in the form of schooling was created. The free health system was introduced, free housing and even right to work (Bron, 1995, p. 23).

Also it should be emphasised that the granting of social rights by the authorities certainly contributed to strengthening the concept of an undemocratic and inactive citizenship. This strengthening of the concept of a kind of lame citizenship happened as the result of the full restriction of political and civil rights and the implementation of a mono-centric system of social relationships and the spread of claiming attitudes¹.

¹ An interesting proposal of an analysis of claiming attitudes can be found in (Mokrzycki, 1998, pp. 33-36). The writer departs from perceiving the sources of claiming attitudes exclusively in the specific demoralisation of *homo sovieticus*; instead he indicates its structural causes. The claiming attitude is, according to the writer, the most rational activity of citizens, consisting in choosing the most effective method of achieving an aim. "Does this claiming attitude, so characteristic of modern Poland, have its source in a habit or is it a structural phenomenon indicating the continuity of (certain?) macro-structural features of socialism in post-socialist Poland?" It happened due to macro-structural changes in the PRL with the disappearance of class conflicts and their replacement with a conflict between the state and social groups and professional categories, the disappearance of the relationships between interest groups and the appearance of claiming solidarity i.e. solidarity coming

The nature of the discourse of political opposition towards citizenship was internal. It was important for the fight conducted with the communist government. Some opposition groups built their proposals for an understanding of the concept of citizenship through the reversal of signifiers e.g. from a social one to a Christian one or from the state one to a national one (Przyszczykowski, 1998, p. 88). Outside the government, the opposition tried to retain a homogeneity of opinions with regards to notions mentioned here against power and society. Diversification of ideas became clearly visible after the fall of Communism in 1989 (Przyszczykowski, 1998, p. 88). Kazimierz Przyszczykowski (1998) when analysing the educational concepts of opposition in the 1970s and 1980s, indicated existing differences in the field of political opposition regarding the concept of citizenship. The differences were visible in respect of the issue of identifying the relationship between 'common welfare' and personal freedom and also in the question about what 'common welfare' is and to what it refers e.g. to the tradition that makes a society, which has been deprived of subjectivity and 'sacrum' or civil and democratic values for many years, rooted to a large extent to known structures. Often different concepts of civil society were formulated. These included the nationalistic concept, where the nation is a fundamental category; the non-nationalistic concept, which consisted in 'building over the social space between church and authoritarian state,' where a self-organising society could find its space for activity); the egalitarian concept; and the anti-liberal concept, which sought after an alternative social order (in place of the existing one) based on solidarity and the teachings of the Catholic Church. The opposition also created the sphere of active citizenship by calling together independent, secret, unofficial institutions of social life. However, all kinds of civil society concepts and actions of independent unofficial bodies eventually referred to the concept of nation as 'common welfare' and the fight with "unwanted power". Thinking about state concepts was secondary in regard to national thinking. "It was an alternative thinking compared with that promoted by the authorities of that time [who were] thinking in categories of social internationalism" (Przyszczykowski, 1998, p. 101).

Did the situation regarding the issue of citizenship become clear after 1989? The writer thinks that it is even less clear and more opaque. This has happened, because of the flow - or perhaps it is better to say the flood - of information about the ways that citizenship is experienced in the states of Western democracy. On the other hand, Polish peoples own experiences, as well as those of other countries that also underwent the period of transformation, enrich but also complicate discourses on citizenship (Szkudlarek, 1995). Zbyszko Melosik (1998, pp. 60-65) has indicated numerous changes of a global character, which significantly influenced emerging forms of citizenship and civil education. These are: the questioning of the European (Western) dominance in the field of modern concepts of citizenship that build identity by taking into account negative attitudes towards other cultures and other concepts of citizenship; the penetration of Europe by other cultures, which have led to multi-cultural approaches and the 'transferring' of other, so far peripheral, cultures and experiences to 'the centre' of Europe and America, which first prompted concern and later a fascination with the abundance of the world of 'Others'. All these trends are connected with the questioning of cultural authority and a dilution of the European identity as suggested by many media broadcasters. This last global change connected with the influence of mass-media creates "new forms of citizenship - crosswise existing so far forms of belonging to society and leads to shaping <wider> but <more shallow> feeling WE" (Melosik, 1998, p. 64). Zbyszko Melosik concludes:

out against the state by groups whose interests were inconsistent with those of the state or who mutually excluded themselves.

In the consequence the defence of traditional versions of citizenship (based on the glorification of the nation-state) has to lead to 'closing oneself in identity,' which irrevocably leads to stigmatising Others as 'worse Others,' which in turn is the source of ethnic and national conflicts. In connection with it seems that ahead of pedagogy (also Polish one) stands a task of drawing up such a concept of civil education, which without resigning from national and state values could, however, place them in the context of global cultural tendencies (Melosik, 1998, p. 65).

What conclusions can be drawn for the present civil times in Poland? On the one hand, departing from the concept of citizenship based on the vision of a homogenous nation of compatriots and a community linked by natural bonds, one tends towards citizenship, which results from a feeling of social solidarity based on civil participation. However, such a vision of society is very difficult due to the strong roots that Poles have in historical experiences and certain long-lasting 'training' in such forms of social behaviour that led to the fight with the state for power for their own rights. Also the results of research carried out by E. Nowicka and J. Nawrocki prove that the feeling of being Polish is more important for the respondents than possessing Polish citizenship (Kempny, 1997). Furthermore, research on active citizenship amongst local groups and societies shows big differences in the ways of learning about citizenship, which result from different concepts of citizenship (Kurantowicz, 1998). Research all over Poland indicates a low activity of Poles in the public sphere, which means a low level of active citizenship. The latter aspect is astonishing, when one considers Polish fascination with political and social changes (1989) and particularly freedom of expression, setting up societies, etc. At present it seems that Poles do not pay too much attention to civil rights and freedoms. Social rights have become more important. Perhaps the threat to social rights and the lack of any apparent threat to basic rights and freedoms in the present day has caused such attitudes (Kempny, 1997, p. 454). Next argument for the benefit of difficulties in passing from the concept of national citizenship to democratic one are global changes, which are too often perceived as a threat to national identity.

Citizenship as an effect of dominant and significant ideas in social life

Further on the writer proposes to put forward a certain way of analysing citizenship, which may prove useful for comparative analyses. The four main ideas of social collective life, which emerged in different periods of Polish society, have already been mentioned and these are re-iterated as resistance, adjustment, transformation and emancipation. The attempt by society to carry through these ideas generates specific forms of social integration and/or organisation (e.g. nation, state, market, citizen groups) and these, in turn, lead to a desired model of citizenship. Such models include a 'citizen loyal' to the ideas accepted and important (ethically) to the group – the concept of national citizenship; an 'obedient citizen,' who exhibits a demeanor of being withdrawn and unwilling to defend given rights (deprived of the possibility of acting and of active citizenship that happens not only in an authoritarian state but also in the case of excessive protectiveness by the state (Bron, 1995). 'A determined citizen' is aware of the possibility of demanding all rights and he treats his own activity, as a realisation of his own or group interests. 'A doubting citizen' is critical of his/her own commitment and he/she treats a citizenship society as a crucial element of social life, which enables the manifestation of personal questions or 'voices' from the community (Coare, Johnston, 2003).

Tab. 1

MAJOR IDEA OF SOCIAL LIFE	FORM OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION/ORGANISATION	CITIZENSHIP MODEL
RESISTANCE	NATION	LOYAL CITIZEN
ADJUSTMENT	STATE	OBEDIENT CITIZEN
TRANSFORMATION	MARKET	DETERMINED CITIZEN
EMANCIPATION	CITIZEN GROUP	DOUBTING CITIZEN

Among the perceived ideas of social life and the dominant forms of social integration and/or organisation it is possible to notice a transition from actions and group/collective thinking (resistance, adjustment) to actions and concepts, which are more community-oriented and individualistic (transformation, emancipation). Here, there is also a tendency to reject tradition and the past, as the main sources of citizen attitudes, and the loyalty and obedience of citizens are transformed within citizen attitudes into a conscious choice of and criticism towards worlds, where individuals and groups are involved. These elements are known and present in the discourse on contemporary citizenship.

Peripheral citizenship as an effect of place

If it is assumed that citizenship and learning of citizenship have a relational and contextual character and they are socially generated in interpersonal relationships (negotiations and communication) in the conditions found in the actual daily lives of individuals (groups, societies, communities), then citizenship in small local societies is an effect of place and can be understood in terms of geography and meaning. Maria Mendel (2006, p. 10), the editor of the book *Pedagogika miejsca (Pedagogy of Place)*, justifies this 'pedagogy' of place in the following way:

This book about pedagogy of place proves that our own familiarised space of daily lives is 'pedagogical.' The book shows how, while simultaneously living our lives and learning, we get to know creative role of places where we happen to experience our constant personal change, that is, to quote Maria Janion, with experiences of each moment and with every life lesson, to move towards never-ending metamorphosis, to lose life. Places are not just a background for this 'spectacle.' They put specific characteristics into the changes and, responding to each human activity, create human beings just as people create places as a result of their constant interference and more or less spectacular transformations. One can say that we have a reciprocal relationship with places.

The writer totally agrees with this perspective and it is worth asking questions whether and what citizenship and what learning of citizenship are created by territory and geographic space in which and because of which people integrate themselves to create a community. It is believed that local communities experience peculiar 'neglect' in the educational discourse due to the dominant processes

of globalisation and de-territorialisation of the social identities of individuals. Territory understood as a physical fact is no longer useful for individuals and groups, who find themselves in different areas of life and on this base shape their identities. Undertaking polemics with these diagnoses the writer wishes to ask a question about how a territory and numerous worlds connected therewith (history, time, place, biography, every day life, etc.) can constitute a crucial factor in citizen education. The defence of subjectivity of micro-territories is revealed also in the layer of intellectual considerations about the category of society².

Still taking advantage of the table above and its categories used in the earlier part of the article, it is possible to present the discussed discourse on peripheral citizenship in the following way:

Tab. 2

MAJOR IDEA OF SOCIAL LIFE	FORM OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION/ ORGANISATION	CITIZENSHIP MODEL
SURVIVAL /LASTING	LOCAL SOCIETY / “never-ending” communities	SEEKING CITIZEN

It is also worth, as the writer believes, thinking over the differences, which appear between ‘peripheral citizenship’ - and as a consequence, learning - and the type of citizenship present in the dominant discourses (tab. 1).

Tab.3

‘Peripheral’ citizenship	Citizenship in present discourses
presence	acting
private and public sphere	public sphere
shared norms and past determine social trust	trust to generalised “ Other”
networks and resources (potential to use)	participation
limiting the relation to local power	relationship toward state rule
emotions	rationalism

There exists also another possible scenario of this analysis. Peripheral citizenship can be treated as a point of departure for other types of citizenship (following the example of the concept of peripheral learning suggested by Jane Lave).

² For example as it is analysed by Rennie Johnston: departure from oppressive, traditional communities on behalf of communities of resistance, an inclusive community or esthetic community, which takes into account post-modern conditions of social integration (Jansen, Finger i Wildemeersch 1998).

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